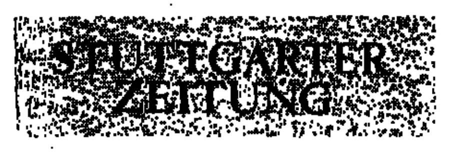
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Kohl and Reagan talk about Reykjavik and afterwards



Helmut Kohl ended his first full term as Chancellor just as he began in Bonn: by paying President Reagan a visit.

His latest visit, like his first as Chancellor in November 1982, dealt mainly with armament issues. But missile modernisation has given way to disarmament.

This switch of emphasis was due in part to the Reykjavik summit and the twofold surprise President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov sprang on the world.

While presenting disarmament concepts on a scale no-one had previously imagined as being conceivable they demonstrated inability to put into practice what they had outlined in such striking terms.

Careful scrutiny of official comments on Reykjavik in Bonn revealed something of a sigh of relief. As a leading foreign policy expert put it:

"The trouble with summit meetings is that they sometimes fail to take the detailed consequences of decisions into account."

So the Kohl government was far from unhappy at the failure to reach agreement in Reykjavik or, as Bonn officials put it:

"The talking was brought to a halt at just the right time in Reykjavik. Time is now needed to reappraise it all and strike a balance."

The major phase of alliance consultations is now in the offing, as Bonn sees it. In other words, Bonn is working on the assumption that further negotiations will be held at all disarmament conferences.

Results are felt to be possible despite the confusion Moscow created by promptly refuting the statement made by the chief Soviet delegate at Geneva, Mr Karpov, in Bonn in July.

Mr Karpov told an audience of government officials and pressmen there was no linkage between a medium-range missile agreement and US agreement to scrap SDI.

In Moscow this linkage was then promptly reaffirmed. Bonn feels the Soviet Union sees the need for such linkage on strategic weapons but sees no need for it to be an all-or-nothing viewpoint.

The latest consultations between Chancellor Kohl and President Reagan in Washington was the seventh time the two leaders had conferred. It assumed much greater importance than originally envisaged.

It was initially planned as a means of presenting to the President Bonn's views on a possible Reagan-Gorbachov summit.

After the Reykjavik mini-summit the Chancellor gained an opportunity of learning at first hand what the President had learnt in 11 hours of talks with the Soviet leader.

It was, as a senior Bonn official somewhat disrespectfully put it, a case of the Chancellor being briefed by "his master's voice."

Herr Kohl was America's first ally to confer with President Reagan after Reykjavik, but he had a full week in which to ponder over the critical points in the agreement the superpowers nearly reached.

Bonn government officials feel the terms almost agreed would have a considerable effect on security interests of *the Federal Republic and its partners.*

This view is clearly shared in London and Paris. Mrs Thatcher assured the Chancellor on the eve of his flight to Washington that he could definitely speak in her name too.

She and President Mitterrand had been fully agreed in their assessment of the situation at their London talks.

In principle the Bonn government sides with Washington in refusing to approve of arms agreements in return for the scrapping of SDI.

But German officials are dissatisfied with the superpowers for having failed to agree to confer on their difficulties of interpretation, as proposed by Bonn.

SDI, Bonn has long felt, must not be an aim in itself. It must make disarmament possible. This German viewpoint *has lately been stressed and reiterated.*

Bonn has particular confidence in Mr Reagan, who has "always clinched matters on major issues," as German officials put it.

In other words, the US President is expected not to knuckle under to the blandishments of hawkish advisers if there is any real chance of agreement.

Bonn's main concern remains the withdrawal of medium-range missiles. The prospect of their total withdrawal from Europe, as envisaged in Reykjavik, came as a surprise.

It is also noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate on shorter-range missiles (with a range of up to 500km), of which the West has none, whereas the Russians have 600.

Bonn is likewise pleased to note that Moscow is prepared to reduce the number of missiles with a range of up to 1,000km allegedly stationed by the Soviet Union in response to the West's missile modernisation.

Bonn is worried not only by the possibility that these fine hopes for the future might vanish into thin air.

It is also worried, first and foremost, that prospective missile agreements might bring about changes in the European security situation to the grave disadvantage of the Federal Republic and of Western Europe.

If all agreements proposed were to be signed, Soviet conventional superiority would come fully into its own.

One response could be to boost conventional armament in the wake of nuclear disarmament. Bonn and other Western governments tend to favour an alternative solution: including conventional armament in overall disarmament talks.

Both the MBFR troop cut talks in Vienna and the forthcoming Helsinki

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Wet welcome for Nepalese monarch

King Birendra of Nepal (second from left) and President von Weizsäcker are sheltered by umbrellas during an official military welcome in Bonn. (Photo: dpa)

Pragmatism is the crucial rule in intra-German politics

It is 15 years since the Four-Power Berlin Agreement was signed between the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. It is still in force.

Pragmatism is in reality the golden rule that governs Deutschlandpolitik, and it presupposes candour and clarity as the basis of business.

Deutschlandpolitik would be lost if it were to part company with the reality that took shape after the Second World War, including the partitioning of Europe between the Atlantic alliance and the Soviet military empire.

Treaty commitments must be honoured, no matter how controversial they may have been, and unwritten rules of the game must also be observed.

Bonn's Deutschlandpolitik must inspire confidence, first and foremost in the West. It must also ensure predictability as far as the East is concerned.

It would equally be lost if it were to forfeit the will to end the division of Germany, a resolve that formed part of the intellectual bedrock of the Federal Republic.

The Federal Republic of Germany was set up as the foundation of a democratic Germany, which it still is. Its values include values shared with the West, alliance ties with the West, European integration and the hope that the division of Germany will not be forever.

The German Question has not been on the agenda of East-West conferences since 1959. The 1971 Four-Power Berlin Agreement and the 1972 Basic Treaty with the GDR have meant that Deutschlandpolitik has since been a

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Question over Middle East as Israel changes its Prime Minister

Shimon Peres has stepped down as Prime Minister and moved to the Foreign Ministry, handing over as head of government to Yitzhak Shamir, previously Foreign Minister.

The change-over is initially no more than a change in Israel's outward appearance. The new government is in principle the same as the old, with its policy unchanged at mid-term.

Yet the world is taking a new and warier look at Israel. Is the reshuffle not bound to bring about change in the Middle East? Can it fail to have an effect on peace?

Outwardly the Middle East is at peace, more so than countries such as Spain with its Basque problem, not to mention Northern Ireland.

Europe as a whole may live at peace, yet peace in Europe hass neither been established nor sanctioned by a peace treaty.

Why, Israelis ask, ought they to be in greater haste with their peace treaty or to have better luck with it than European diplomats with theirs?

Yet Europe has increasingly come to rest with its quasi-state of peace, whereas the Middle East has remained in a state of unpredictability. Pressure for change is growing rather than easing off.

Israel's victory in the 1967 war made neighbouring Palestine less of a military threat. Hostile forces were no longer poised a mere 18 km (11 miles) from the Mediterranean.

But Israel's war gains have plunged the country into a dilemma that will not simply resolve itself if left to its own devices, as might be said of Europe's post-war borders.

Israel faces an impossible choice and does so more urgently by the year, due less to Arab policy outside the country than to the demographic time-bomb within.

Is it to shape its own future in South Africa's image or is it to settle for a political, in other words territorial, arrange-



ment by which pre-1967 conditions might well recur?

Mr Peres seeks Arab partners in a *third option, that of a vague domestic* autonomy for Palestinians from the Gaza Strip to the West Bank under Israel's protection but not, he suggests, necessarily Israel's alone.

That would not quite amount to a territorial solution and thus is in principle nothing new.

Likud Premier Shamir will see no real need for a change of course because Mr Peres has not in principle embarked on a change of course.

Qualitative, territorial change would only occur, and then only gradually, once Arab partners and protecting powers shared responsibility for Palestinian autonomy.

They must be assumed to have gradually established a treaty relationship with Israel such that a territorial settlement redefining sovereignty in the final analysis was no longer as appalling a prospect for Israel.

In other words, it would be for the Arabs and the Palestinians to come up with a successful solution and restore peace to the Palestinian problem.

That was why King Hassan of Morocco, probably the most moderate Arab ruler, preferred to give Premier Peres no more than his attention when they met at the Royal Palace. So what can possible come of the idea?

There are two active parties and a sleeping partner in negotiations in the "year of peace talks" proclaimed by President Mubarak and Premier Peres in Alexandria.

Egypt and Israel are the two active parties in the region, with King Hussein of Jordan as the sleeping partner.

The fourth force, the Palestinians, is diffuse and has neither a clear will nor a government of its own. Some are active in Egyptian and Jordanian politics; others work outside or against them.

The road to a generally accepted Palestinian representation capable of negotiating at a peace conference with Israel is still engulfed in fog after a few yards.

At the fifth focal point, in Damascus, forces are gathering that are intent on preventing a settlement of any kind.

Mr Peres agreed in Alexandria to the Arab call for an international conference in a bid to clinch the support of sleeping partner Jordan. King Hussein will not play ball unless a conference is held.

Recalling what happened to President Sadat of Egypt, he has no intention of openly entering into bilateral negotiations. Unlike the assassinated Egyptian leader, he has no such incentive as Israeli-occupied Sinai.

King Hussein could not expect to regain the West Bank either so clearly or so soon as Egypt has regained Sinai.

He has never wanted the Gaza Strip and as for the fundamental problem of Jerusalem, it could only be discussed at a later stage.

Yet growing political extremism in the West Bank is a time-bomb for King Hussein too. He does not have limitless time at his disposal either.

This is a bridge Hussein and Israel might one day cross and meet each other half-way. So the international conference, a proposal of which Israel is by no means enamoured, is basically no more than a pretext for parties willing to confer in any case.

King Hussein has held many lengthy confidential talks with Israel. Their talks have totalled over 500 hours, according to a leak printed by an Israeli newspaper.

This being so, and with an eye to his coalition partners in Israel and his allies in Washington, Mr Peres chose in his final speech as Prime Minister *to repeat* that the international *conference* was intended merely as a solemn *start* to peace talks that must be continued bilaterally and on a smaller scale.

This cannot be seen as an incentive for those who have no desire to hold talks at present. They insist on *Israel's* peace preparedness amounting to more than mere readiness to invite others to attend a conference.

Bernhard Heimrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 October 1986)

Kohl and Reagan

Continued from page 1

review conference in the Austrian capital are felt to be of particular importance in this context.

In America the Chancellor sought to ensure that German security interests were not neglected and that the dialogue between Washington and Moscow on relay stations for conference venues was continued.

Assuming there to be no Soviet linkage between between SDI and disarmament talks, Bonn feels major disarmament agreements might be ready for signing next year.

They could include agreements on, say, medium-range missiles and on chemical weapons.

Other issues on the German-American agenda paled in significance beside disarmament.

Chancellor Kohl was accompanied by Foreign Minister Genscher and Defence Minister Wörner. They conferred with President Reagan, Vice-President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz, Defence Secretary Weinberger and Treasury Secretary Baker.

Eduard Neumaier

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 October 1986)

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means of coping with division, as far as that is possible, rather than of ending it.

No-one knows here and now how the European peace order twice mentioned in the Note on German Unity, appended to the Moscow Treaty in 1970 and to the Basic Treaty in 1972, is to be put into practice.

The note modified both treaties and brought them into line with constitutional provisions in the Federal Republic of Germany. But the question is not disqualified merely because no-one knows the answer.

Is the preamble to Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, to be amended and the aim of unity in peace to be cancelled, privatised or forgotten merely for the sake of peace and quiet on the left wing of the political spectrum?

That would not even be tolerable as wishful thinking. A clear line of thought extends from the Parliamentary Council (which drew up Basic Law), Article 7 of the 1954 German Treaty and the Note on German Unity to the latest state-of-the-nation report.

It is the vision of a European peace order and the endeavour to gain the confidence of Germany's neighbours in a plan for the future that legitimates the Federal Republic on the basis of both German history and Europe's future.

The other German state undeniably exists and is not lacking in efficacy, regardless on what basis. But what it lacks is legitimation by its citizens' free approval.

There is another reason why the GDR cannot be accepted. It has to do with the SED, the East German Communist Party.

From Walter Ulbricht's 1947 slogan "Forwards to a Socialist Germany!" to Erich Honecker, the present East German leader, the Communists have been intent on gaining control of all Germany.

This aim is currently apparent in the comprehensive claim the GDR lays to German history. Politically it has never been in abeyance, as shown by a point the SED leader made in 1981.

Once the working class set about the socialist transformation of the Federal Republic of Germany, Herr Honecker said, the issue of German reunification would be posed anew.

Can Deutschlandpolitik help to establish order above and beyond the deterrent? This question opens up still more far-reaching perspectives.

It also indicates the scope of Deutschlandpolitik, which encompasses experience of political pragmatism the like of which is not so readily gained elsewhere in the world.

Deutschlandpolitik has succeeded in at least setting legal limits to power clashes and ideological conflicts.

The Federal Republic has transformed economic power into political clout at the conference table. Environmental issues have, tentatively perhaps, been raised in a manner that transcends systems.

Experience of this kind can be put to good use if Deutschlandpolitik is to form part of a coordinated Western Ostpolitik, which ought long to have been the case.

Europeanisation of the German Question is more important than commitments to one community of responsibility or the other, commitments that lead only to asymmetrical arrangements.

Failing its Europeanisation we need no longer devote the least thought to a future European order. We can concentrate instead on the ruins of the present one.

Deutschlandpolitik cuts a deep furrow. It cannot part company with historical or geographical facts. These facts or circumstances do not, for the most part, lend themselves to manipulation by Bonn, let alone by East Berlin.

The nervous quest for simple solutions runs counter to the fact that Deutschlandpolitik is needed to ensure the viability of Berlin, to deal politically with the division of Germany and to maintain a chance of bringing influence to bear on the Soviet military empire.

This influence may be exerted by means of democracy, prosperity and European integration. But time passes no faster merely because the clocks are put forward.

There is no alternative to Deutschlandpolitik if the clash between free democracy and socialist dictatorship is to be contained and people affected are to be helped:

You can sup with the *Devil if* you use a long spoon. It only grows dangerous if you start to let yourself be converted by him.

Michael Stürmer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 October 1986)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Populist line pays off for fledgling Bavarian party

The Republican Party (REP), which campaigned on a series of right-wing populist issues such as controlling immigration and punishing drug traffickers, won more than three percent of the vote in the Bavarian state assembly elections this month. Here, Peter Schmalz, writing for *Die Welt*, looks at the party formed just three years ago, its leader, Franz Schönhuber, and how the inns and beer tents were full as Schönhuber took his campaign across the state. Schönhuber is consulting lawyers after three times being referred to as "Schickelgruber" on a television discussion before the election.

Franz Schönhuber, the leader of the Republican Party (REP), felt like shooting himself when he heard the first election forecasts predicting much less than one per cent for his party in the Bavarian state assembly elections.

But, as it gradually became clear during the evening that the REP had gained a good three per cent, the smile returned to his face.

This was the first time that the three-year old REP party has contested an election.

Together with the clear defeat of the SPD the success of the REP was the big sensation.

The REP's general secretary, Harald Neubauer, very much intoxicated by his party's performance, claimed that "if we had been able to carry Franz Schönhuber from one village to the next we would have achieved something even the Greens didn't manage at first go."

Former NPD member Neubauer is convinced that the REP would have then got the five per cent of the vote needed to move into the Bavarian Landtag.

As Schönhuber is a unique personality, however, and as there are thousands of Bavarian villages the leading candidate of the REP had to make do with appearances in key areas.

This was enough for success in Bavaria. The REP received more than twice the percentage share of votes needed to qualify for a reimbursement of election campaign costs (1.25 per cent) and will probably be given DM1.25m to replenish party funds.

Experienced campaigners put the costs of the REP campaign at twice this amount. 90,000 posters showing Schönhuber's smiling face were distributed in even the remotest Bavarian regions.

Experts in the head offices of the other parties are asking themselves "Where does he get the money from?".

Schönhuber himself talks of donors, loans and, above all, of the personal involvement of what he calls "activists" on a scale no longer known in other parties.

He proudly refers to 12 students from Cologne, for example, who stuck up posters for four weeks and slept either in the party's head office in Munich or in Schönhuber's own house.

Schönhuber was aware of the popular appeal of his roundish face and slightly slanting corners of his eyes, which give his face a both amused and doubting expression.

63-year-old Schönhuber was once the editor-in-chief of the popular Munich daily newspaper *tz* and then the author of the staunchly left-wing commentaries of the *Abendzeitung*.

At that time, his wife Ingrid was an SPD city councillor.

Schönhuber became a deputy TV editor-in-chief and presented the popular TV discussion programme *Jetzt red'i* (Now it's my turn to speak), which was broadcast from Bavarian inns.

In the transmission area of the Bavarian TV station Schönhuber is almost as popular as the Bavarian father figure Franz-Josef Strauss.

Politically, Schönhuber has moved from the left through the centre and to the right.

He soon became a good friend of Franz-Josef Strauss and a member of the exclusive "Franzens-Club", a circle of the supporters of Bavarian Premier Strauss.

Schönhuber was hoping to make a career in TV administration.

The publication of a book called *Ich war dabei* (I was there), in which he openly described his personal experience as a member of the Waffen-SS, put an end to these ambitions.

In the whirl of events which followed Schönhuber was dismissed from the Bavarian TV station.

He successfully appealed to the Labour Court for a compensation figure of six figures plus a monthly sum until he reaches official retirement age.

With no financial worries he decided to become a politician and set up the Republican Party with two rebel CSU parliamentarians, Handlos and Voigt.

He soon fell out with them both, however, and they left the party.

Today, Schönhuber feels that this decision was correct. "This party would never have been able to develop a clear-cut image with Handlos," he claimed. "He doesn't even regard himself as conservative nowadays."

Schönhuber cleverly presented a mixture of his own popularity and populist right-wing election issues.

Wherever he went during the election campaign the inns or beer tents were full.

The crowd clapped as he called for summary court magistrates on West German borders to control the flow of asylum applicants or for a maximum penalty of life imprisonment for drug dealers.

He describes his party as "national but not nationalist."

He denies any links with the (neo Nazi) NPD and announced that legal steps would be taken after he was called *Schickelgruber* (a reference to Hitler) three times during a TV discussion.

After his party's success in Bavaria he now faces the question whether he should run in the general election.

"The pressure of the party's rank-and-file members to do so is enormous," says Schönhuber.

He himself, however, doesn't want to make a decision in the initial euphoria of success in Bavaria and has asked for two weeks to think things over.

He knows that his popularity is mainly limited to Bavaria and that a nationwide campaign would be much more difficult.

Franz Schönhuber (Photo: dpa)

However, according to the party chairman there are already offers from other organisations and parties for an alliance, although no names are mentioned.

Schönhuber also claims that 100 people became new members of the REP on polling day evening and that the party now has just under 4,000 members, mostly young people including many students.

Schönhuber is playing with fire, since although he doesn't stand a chance of getting into the Bundestag the CDU/CSU could lose the vital votes of many disappointed exile groups if he decides to run in the general election.

This might then make the election on 25 January a cliff-hanger after all.

But how high is the price of not running in this election, for which, according to Schönhuber, he already has DM4m at his disposal?

Peter Schmalz

(Die Welt, Bonn, 15 October 1986)

Election shock leaves SPD morale in tatters

With the general election due in less than 100 days, there is already a feeling within the SPD that it is fighting a lost cause.

The outcome of the Bavarian state assembly elections, where the SPD had its poorest showing (27.5 per cent) since 1946, is probably the most savage blow the party has taken since its defeat in the 1983 general election.

It was a result which has shattered more hopes than party leaders care to admit. It is still not clear what the SPD's next step is.

Both the public and the party had doubts right from the start about the proclaimed objective set by their candidate for Chancellor, Johannes Rau: an absolute majority.

This ambitious goal has turned out to be one of the main psychological barriers so far.

Rau has now modified this objective somewhat by referring to the only slightly more modest aim that the SPD will emerge from the election as the strongest single party.

Bavarian realities would now seem to have knocked the bottom out of this hope too.

Rau himself repeatedly stressed that a general election victory in January next year would only be possible if substantial electoral gains were made in the southern federal states, where the SPD is historically weaker.

But the result in Bavaria has dampened those hopes too.

Rau's decision to stick to his aim of an SPD majority is more than defiant under these circumstances.

His self-comforting conclusion that the set-back in Bavaria was the result of the fact that anyone who simply campaigns for a reasonable second place and not for victory cannot be a winner could rebound in the general election campaign.

No-one really believes that Rau stands a chance of out-and-out victory in Bonn.

But if Rau does back down from his strategy now, he would lose face.

His previous dissociation from the Greens has been no more than logically consistent.

Even considering the possibility of an SPD-Greens coalition would be tantamount to a pre-election admission of defeat.

At the same time, Rau would only encourage the supporters of such a coalition within his party.

Following the Bavarian elections the Bonn government coalition parties are going to find it easier anyway to strengthen suspicions that the SPD would, if given the chance, join forces with the Greens in Bonn despite Rau's declarations to the contrary.

By demanding that the Shadow Chancellor should change his strategy and show greater flexibility on the question of a Red-Green coalition the Young Socialists have already increased such suspicions.

Even though there may be others who feel this way in the SPD they do not embody a trend towards a change of strategy, either for reasons of conviction or party discipline.

The optimism of the Nuremberg party congress seven weeks ago, during which the SPD and, in particular, its candidate for chancellorship considerably improved their image, has worn off.

Rau's government policy programme, which was a definite alternative to conservative-liberal policies and is rich in contrasts, was very rarely discussed in public after the party congress.

Rau himself has not done enough to promote an image of a real challenger to Helmut Kohl in Bonn.

The way in which the CDU demonstrated its optimistic and unshakeable confidence of victory during its conference in Mainz on the basis of a minimum of policy substance must have really depressed Rau and the SPD.

The SPD is finding it increasingly difficult to present itself as a serious challenge to this self-confident government, which has a number of successful economic policy achievements on its side.

The SPD has also been unable to turn apparently popular campaign issues, such as the gradual phaseout of nuclear energy, to its own advantage.

The statement by party chairman, Willy Brandt, following the Bavarian elections that the SPD's energy policy had not been properly understood almost sounds like an admission of a strategic error.

It is difficult for Opposition parties to win over voters in the field of such awkward topics.

The SPD experienced this problem in a different way when it campaigned against missile deployment in the 1983 general election.

As member of the SPD presidium, Peter Glotz, pointed out: "No-one votes for a Cassandra figure".

This is why the SPD now wants to

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■ PERSPECTIVE

Curtain opened on Warsaw Pact War Games Show — and revealed as little as possible

On 11 August the German embassy in Prague was notified that Warsaw Pact manoeuvres were to be held in Czechoslovakia.

Czech, Soviet and Hungarian units were to take part in ground and air exercises.

The manoeuvres, code-named Druzhba '86, were to be held in Bohemia. Up to two observers from the Federal Republic of Germany would be welcome.

This surprise invitation came 11 years after the signing of the Helsinki accords and seven years after the last time a West German observer had been allowed to monitor Warsaw Pact manoeuvres.

Was the spirit of Helsinki to be resurrected after such a long break? The solemn undertakings on confidence-building measures given in the Finnish capital by the 35 CSCE states in 1975 had almost been forgotten.

On 11 September the German ambassador, Peter Metzger, and his military attaché, Lt-Col Jürgen Kewitsch, eagerly boarded a bus that took them to a platform provided for manoeuvre observers.

The report they sent to Bonn did not give the impression that they had understood the purpose of the exercise.

They were given a printed programme including afternoon and evening welfare arrangements. A 1:500,000 map of the manoeuvre area was also provided.

But they were unable to make contact with the troops, they complained. For

Frankfurter Rundschau

"security reasons" they were not allowed to leave the platform.

Their queries on troop strengths and nationalities of individual units went unanswered. The manoeuvre briefing gave no idea as to the true nature of the exercise.

They were not allowed to use their own field-glasses, cameras or dictaphones.

All they were allowed to use were their own notebooks and, later in the proceedings, tape recorders. What they were shown was clearly a special demonstration.

The observers felt they had not been allowed to see for themselves what the purpose of Drúzhba '86 really was. One German diplomat said it had been a specially laid-on show.

T 34 tanks, for instance, had forded a river but showed no traces of mud on their tracks afterwards. The only possible explanation was that the river bed had been concrete-lined.

Tanks can be seen performing circus tricks of this kind in the Federal Republic too, at Munster in the Lüneburg Heath, for instance, where Leopard and Gepard (Cheetah) tanks are put through their paces before invited audiences...

Demonstrations of this kind fail to convey the least idea of strategy and combat roles.

Confidence-building as a means of making military activities more transparent and helping to prevent war was defined in Helsinki as follows:

"The states taking part (in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) will voluntarily and on a bilateral basis, in the spirit of mutual goodwill, invite all participating states to send observers to attend military manoeuvres."

On three occasions, in 1977, 1978 and 1979, Bonn officials were able to see Soviet forces on manoeuvre.

The information gleaned was not overwhelming. One observer told the Foreign Office he had been unable to observe anything because his main concern had been to stay steady on his feet, so often had he been asked to drink a toast to peace.

Yet he was at least able to go through the motions of manoeuvre observation.

The maps provided were 1:500,000, or comparable in accuracy of detail with a main road map.

Anything even smaller in scale would be no use at all. Manoeuvre observers might just as well be issued with a globe.

Yet confidence-building negotiators failed to reach agreement on the provision of more detailed maps such as are available in every bookshop in the West.

The West gained acceptance of its views on aerial inspection, the use of helicopters having been disputed until virtually the last minute in Stockholm.

Western delegations insisted on helicopter observation, assuming there would be little point in peering out of a conventional aircraft as it flew over the manoeuvre area.

The use of helicopters found its way into the final document as: "The aircraft to be used will be chosen by mutual agreement between the inspecting and the recipient state."

And, to be absolutely safe: "Aircraft will be chosen that enable observers to maintain uninterrupted ground vision."

But the Stockholm agreement failed to resolve the old dispute over what observers were to be allowed to see or to reconcile the conflicting interests of the desire for inspection and the fear of espionage.

Disarmament officials in Bonn feel, however, that Stockholm was at least a start. It was the first step toward inspection as a matter of principle.

The principle of inspection is far more important in other arms control sectors than it is for manoeuvre observation.

Helicopter overflights and the use of field-glasses are not much use in monitoring the manufacture of chemical weapons or the destruction of nuclear warheads.

In their case there is no alternative to factory inspection.

Yet has the threat of war between East and West not been eliminated now the other side must be notified of all major troop movements?

The letter of the Stockholm agreement might seem to indicate this is so. Neither side could stage an attack because it was required to give advance notice of large-scale troop movements by mid-November of the previous year.

Arms control experts can but wanly smile at this idea. Nato and the Warsaw Pact have solemnly undertaken not to be the first to attack, they note.

But aggressors have repeatedly broken promises, agreements and treaty commitments. Hitler signed a non-aggression pact with Stalin, yet he still attacked the Soviet Union.

From 1980 the principle of mutual notification was a dead letter. Bonn says it continued to send out manoeuvre invitations but the Warsaw Pact preferred to carry out exercises unobserved.

This certainly applied to the large-scale Soviet manoeuvres on the border with Poland that were code-named West '81.

As the clash between the Polish government and Solidarity, the free trade union, came to a head an estimated 100,000 Soviet troops went on exercise.

In December 1981 martial law was declared in Poland and General Jaruzelski took over the reins of government.

In its latest disarmament white paper the Bonn government accordingly complained that the Warsaw Pact was extremely restrictive in implementing the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

With a certain pride in its own track record the white paper listed manoeuvres held in the Federal Republic.

Code names such as *Defiant Saxons, Nimble Hedgehog, Sharp Blades* and *Valiant Lion* make Bundeswehr manoeuvres sound more like operettas than military exercises.

The neutral Swiss also comply with the Helsinki accords. All military attachés accredited in Berne were invited to attend the Nutcracker manoeuvres, for instance.

The East, in contrast, presented a picture in dullest grey, holding manoeuvres without code names and without inviting Western observers to attend

This state of affairs is now to change. On 21 September the Conference on Security- and Confidence-Building Manoeuvres and Disarmament in Europe reached agreement in Stockholm on terms described as a breakthrough by an official at the Bonn Foreign Office.

Ludger Buerstedde of the Foreign Office's disarmament and arms control department feels the Stockholm agreement is a step toward transparency and a great leap forward in every respect.

The major innovation is that CSCE countries accept a binding obligation to invite observers to attend troop manoeuvres.

A further improvement is that unscheduled inspections are now possible. Indeed, a state that so wishes cannot be refused permission to send in an observer.

Last not least, prior notice must now be given of all manoeuvres involving troop movements exceeding 13,000 men.

Manoeuvres involving over 40,000 must be notified in an annual preview by mid-November of the previous year.

Observers must be invited to attend exercises involving over 17,000 men, and procedures have been laid down in detail to ensure observers have something to observe.

Working on the assumption that everything which is not expressly permitted is prohibited, exact details specify when and how field-glasses may be used.

Manoeuvre observers are to be entitled to use their own field-glasses, Article 53.2 says, but they must be checked and approved by the host country.

Was this proviso made for fear that field-glasses might be too high-powered? You never can tell.

Horst Schreitter-Schwarzenfeld

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 October 1986)

■ SOCIETY

Terror assassination: difficult for a democratic state to hit back

Gerold von Braunmühl was gunned down by terrorists early in the evening of 10 October outside his home in a Bonn suburb.

Von Braunmühl, chief of the Foreign Office's political department and a close aide of Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, had taken a taxi home.

Normally he would have used an official car to go home but on Fridays the Foreign Office closes at two in the afternoon for the weekend.

Senior officials in the Bonn government regularly work irregular hours, and officials in senior government positions work a lot harder than is generally known to the public.

Since the first terrorist outrages of the Baader-Meinhof gang at the beginning of the 1970s senior officials in Bonn have been provided with bodyguards.

The President, the Chancellor, most of the 18 ministers in the present government, some members of the Bundestag and some of the 50 or so state secretaries are protected in this way, but not the more than 100 heads of department.

Only a few of these ministerial directors are known to the general public, people such as Horst Teltschik or Eduard Ackermann from the Chancellor's Office or Herbert Schmülling, deputy government spokesman, or Norbert Schäfer from the government press office. Most are unknown.

Gerold von Braunmühl, 51, was one of these. He attracted little public attention during his brilliant career in foreign affairs. Only after his murder did many of his neighbours discover who he really was.

There are few clues to throw light on his murder. The terrorists left behind a six-page statement in which they stated they had looked for an unprotected ministry official.

No-one knows how and when the killers kept their victim under surveillance or where they concealed themselves before the attack.

The taxi that took von Braunmühl home was driven by a part-time driver, a student. He was the only eye-witness.

So far it has been impossible to identify the type of car in which the attackers escaped. A special squad from the Federal Crime Squad, in charge of investigations, has obtained a statement from a woman, who maintains that the car did not have a Bonn number plate (with the letters BN) but a Siegburg plate (SU), a town close to Bonn.

The terrorists chose for their attack the residential street in which the von Braunmühl family lived in a single-storey house. A better location to escape from could not be imagined.

The von Braunmühl house is situated at a crossroads on the edge of the Bonn Venusberg district with easy access to the city centre, but close to the Kottenforst, a nature reserve, and with access to the motorways to Cologne, Koblenz and Frankfurt.

The Foreign Office guest house on the Venusberg is only a few hundred metres away as the crow flies. Round the corner from von Braunmühl's home there is the Czech embassy.

A fireman, returning home from duty at 10.30 on the evening of the killing by bike instead of by car because of the



mild weather, found the six-page statement there. The RAF star and pistols sign was on it. There was also a sticker on it with the date 10.10.86.

This statement said that the attack was against the oppressive West German state.

Diplomat Gerold von Braunmühl, it said, represented the government on the political committee of European Political Cooperation, that has become one of the most important organisations for formulating and putting into operation political ideas.

In a statement issued in Karlsruhe on this latest murder Chief Public Prosecutor Kurt Rebmann expressed surprise at the detailed information the terrorists had on their victim's official duties.

But the details mentioned in the RAF statement could be discovered by anyone who consulted the government's official handbook.

Describing the duties of Division 2 of the Foreign Ministry the handbook lists "European unity and political cooperation."

Further on mention is made of West European Union, the Atlantic Alliance, bilateral relations between Western Europe and America, general East-West relations, relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc and the United Nations.

A new dimension has entered into the RAF terrorists' attacks, according to Rebmann. They first aimed at "the military establishment," for instance against installations and personnel of the US military presence in this country.

Their second target was the "military-industrial complex."

The terrorists now claim they are directing themselves against the "repressive apparatus" of the state, to use their words.

The attacks on Federal Border Police barracks at Heimerzheim near Bonn a few weeks ago and the Federal Constitutional Court in Cologne are examples of this.

After having attacked the military and the police the terrorists are now directing their activities against unknown, but symbolic, state officials.

Government spokesman Friedhelm Ost said that the killing in Bonn had taken on a new aspect that no-one had reckoned with.

He said that warnings and suppositions had been made about the terrorists' next attack but there were no hard facts to go on.

He explained that the government was now appealing to the country at large to help meet this challenge to the state.

The first hints that Bonn would be the location of the next terrorist attack were discovered when Eva-Sybille Haule-Frimpong and her two companions were arrested in an ice-cream parlour in Rüsselsheim at the beginning of August.

"A sketch was found among their belongings that bore a strong resemblance to the ground-plan of the Economic Cooperation Ministry in Bonn.

The three also had a street map of Bonn with the American embassy underlined.

But there was no indication that Gerold von Braunmühl was being considered as a target. His name was not included in the list of names of politicians, military officers and industrials that have been found in various terrorist apartments.

These lists involve more than 100 people who have been kept informed of developments over the past year, but only a few of them have been provided with bodyguards.

Thirty people have been killed in West Germany in terrorist attacks by members of the Baader-Meinhof gang and its successor organisations since 1972. These killings include American servicemen, law officials, industrialists, politicians as well as bodyguards and people such as drivers.

The security forces maintain that there is currently a hard-core group of about 30 terrorists who have weapons, explosives, money and attack plans. Warrants are out for the arrest of most of them.

Because of the forthcoming general election Herr Rebmann is afraid there will be further attacks on politicians. He said: "After months of being on the defensive the Red Army Faction is now back on the offensive."

Chancellor Kohl's cabinet and the Bundestag's home affairs committee are to consider the changed situation for protection against terrorism.

The opportunities for countering terrorism in this country are limited because, as many politicians have stated, West Germany is not a police state.

On the day Bavaria went to the polling booths to elect a new state parliament Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss sharply said:

"We should not repeat the usual sequence of events — the frightful terrorist attack, a general sense of outrage, a call for effective preventive measures, warnings about over-reaction and then a return to daily routine."

Rudolf Strauch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 October 1986)

Fears rise: not everyone can be protected

"Of course we are anxious after the murder of Gerold von Braunmühl, but for heaven's sake don't mention my name," the wife of a senior Bonn official said.

This request highlights the extreme anxiety felt by many senior Bonn officials and their families. The first terrorist attack in the capital has created a sense of threat that is very real.

For some time specialists have expected a terrorist attack in Bonn but noone had any idea what kind of an attack it would be.

Now a murder has taken place the security forces are still at a loss. Basically they don't know anything about the terrorists.

"Despite extensive investigations no clues have been unearthed."

The police are having to appeal to the public for help and hope that something will turn up.

Two new aspects have emerged from the murder of von Braunmühl:

- The victim comes from the third rank of the Foreign Office hierarchy. Ministers and state secretaries are provided with bodyguards. Ministerial directors, von Braunmühl's appointment, are not. A security forces spokesman said that von Braunmühl was "not among officials considered to be in danger."
- Von Braunmühl, a senior diplomat, lived discreetly, rarely appearing in public. Nevertheless the terrorists knew everything about him.

People in the Foreign Office say: "We are extremely astonished how well the terrorists were informed about the structure of the Foreign Office."

Von Braunmühl's attackers knew in detail his work routine.

Foreign Office officials are also asking how the terrorists could know details of discussions between the Federal Republic, Britain, France and the USA.

Naturally suspicions that the terrorists had a contact in the Foreign Office have been strenuously denied by the Foreign Ministry.

When the security forces appeal to the public to be on guard this makes people generally, but particularly people in Bonn, feel insecure.

In the relatively small capital there are many people who live next-door to potential terrorist victims.

A woman, who lives in the building where the SPD Prime Minister of Hesse, Holger Börner, stays when he is in Bonn, said: "I just don't know what I'd do if anything happened in Börner's appartement or the hall."

Börner knows that he lives in particular danger. When he went into the intensive care unit of a Bonn hospital he took a weapon with him.

But not every senior civil servant in Bonn can go about armed.

Despite the von Braunmühl murder Police Chief Fritsch does not believe this is cause for giving protection to every senior official.

Foreign Minister Genscher's spokesman and confidential aide Jürgen Chrobog rejected wholesale protection for government officials. He said: "We cannot drive everyone about in armour-plated vehicles."

He admitted that he knew he was himself also in danger. "We all live under this threat. We cannot all be protected," he said.

Indeed officials who are given protection are aware of the limits to which this can go.

Defence Ministry parliamentary state secretary Peter Kurt Würzbach (CDU) is accompanied everywhere. His official limousine is trailed by an old Mercedes whose occupants are armed crime squad officers.

Würzbach said: "No-one can feel safe. We all have to go through dangerous situations.

"My first thought when I heard of the murder was that I hoped politicians of all persuasions now understood that we must use every means available to a constitutional state to get hold of these people."

Martin S. Lambeck

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 13 October 1986)

FINANCE

Banks criticised over Mexican debt package

Rescheduling of Mexico's foreign debts was to have been a highlight of the Washington annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund.

But negotiations between creditor banks and the Mexican government faltered and the king-sized agreement that was to cover most of Mexico's foreign debts was threatened with last-minute failure.

It took the joint efforts of US Treasury Secretary James Baker, the Federal Reserve Bank's Paul Volcker and IMF director Jacques de la Rosière to get the banks and the Mexican government to agree to interest rates, guarantees, modes of payment and other terms.

The volume of the agreement readily explains why it took so long to negotiate package terms. Mexico has foreign debts totalling $98bn, making it second only to Brazil, the most heavily-indebted country in Latin America.

Between now and next year Mexico is to be granted new loans totalling $12bn, half being lent by the commercial banks that are owed money by Mexico.

The other half will be funded by the World Bank, the IMF, the Inter-American Development Bank and the group of creditor-states known as the Paris Club.

So Mexico's foreign debts will increase to $110bn by the end of 1987.

Outstanding loans totalling $52.3bn are to be rescheduled, with a repayment period of 20 years.

For the first seven years capital repayments will be waived, only interest payments being due.

The banks were as reluctant to agree to interest terms as they were on bridging loans. They will earn a mere thirteen sixteenths of a per cent on Mexico's rescheduled loans and on the extra $6bn they have agreed to raise.

That is the premium Mexico is to pay over and above the inter-bank rate (the rate at which banks lend each other cash in international business).

With the inter-bank rate currently at 6 1/8 per cent, Mexico now stands to pay 6 15/16 per cent.

The odd sixteenth of a per cent may not seem much, but in Mexico's case it means $36m a year more or less for the creditor banks.

By the terms of the rescheduling agreement the banks have also promised Mexico a contingency loan of over $1.5bn if its economy takes a turn for the worse.

So it is hardly surprising that the banks' jubilation is decidedly subdued.

Thirteen banks negotiated terms on behalf of many more who are owed money by Mexico. They will need to work hard to persuade the necessary 90 per cent of creditors to agree to the terms negotiated.

Debt managers are at their wits' end, as was shown by Deutsche Bank chief executive F. Wilhelm Christians' comment in Washington that the way debt problems were handled, generally speaking, was hardly to the banks' credit.

They had had four years in which to arrive at a longer-term solution to the debt problem but had yet to succeed in doing so, he complained.

The therapy the banks have prescribed has yet to have the desired effect. The debt crisis came to a head in 1982 when Mexico, Poland and a growing number of states announced they were no longer able to keep up their debt funding.

They had overstretched their resources and imported too much foreign money in relation to their economic potential and export opportunities. Their loans were bills drawn on the future, and suddenly they were unable to meet their commitments.

The banks reacted to the insolvency of entire states in much the same way they would do in ordinary circumstances — by playing for time, hoping the debtor will recover and deferring payments due.

But this approach did not help for long, and the banks soon realised that their loans to developing and threshold countries were not just the debtors' problems but also a problem for the banks themselves.

You can't foreclose on any entire country and sell its assets like you can enforce the sale of a company or a house.

The banks had no choice but to lend the debtor countries more money, in most cases solely to ensure they were in a position to service existing debts. In other words, they threw good money after bad.

They didn't always did so as a gesture of goodwill toward the hard-hit debtor countries. Fresh loans were often agreed to bail out major creditors, especially US banks.

American banks have to write off in total any loan for which interest or capital repayments are overdue by more than 90 days. That would have meant insolvency for most leading US banks.

Many have lent Latin American countries more than twice or three times their paid-up capital. If a country so heavily indebted as Mexico were to exceed this deadline American banks would have to *write off so much capital that they would* have no choice but to shut down.

As a result the leading commercial banks have lent their main debtors an extra $33bn over the past three years, not including the latest loans to Mexico.

After four years of debt crisis the banks are now negotiating rescheduling

DIE ZEIT

agreement with 50 countries, and there is little likelihood of the number declining in the near future.

The latest terms agreed with Mexico indicate where the therapy has gone wrong. The burden of debt funding will be eased for a few years, but in the long term Mexico will be worse off and even deeper in debt to the banks.

Over the next 20 years Mexico will have to repay not $98bn but $110bn, and if it is to repay its debts in full one may well wonder whether, when the first repayments on capital are due, in five or seven years' time, the country will fare better with debts totalling $110bn than with its present $98bn.

Recent trends make that seem unlikely. What the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America need to make ends meet is fewer debts, not more.

After four years of debt crisis the banks seem to be out of their depth in trying to arrive at a solution to the problem.

"Just tell me why," the barman at the Sheraton asked a debt manager in Washington for the IWF meeting, "you are lending the developing countries more and more money when you woll know you are never going to get it back?"

The banker could only smile wanly.

Bernhard Blohm

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 October 1986)

Semiconductor deal another blow to free-trade ideal

Bids to solve one's own problems at the other's expense are on the increase even in the international economic triad of America, Europe and Japan.

The European Community's trade policy committee recently conferred on an agreement between America and Japan that amounts to a parcelling out of major semiconductor markets.

Europe must first hold consultations within Gatt to learn more about the details.

But this particular case is only one serious breach of the principles of free world trade. Multilateral frameworks are increasingly being undermined by bilateral agreements.

This latest agreement also shows what "progress" arrangements of this kind have made since the days of agreements by exporters to exercise "voluntary self-restraint" — agreements that used to bear the brunt of attack.

By the terms agreed on semiconductors Japan has not only agreed to limit exports to the United States and undertaken to charge higher prices; it has also agreed to open the Japanese market to imports of certain goods from the United States.

To prevent indirect exports to the United States via third countries Japan even agreed to charge minimum prices for semiconductor exports to other countries.

European Community interests are clearly affected. Higher prices may suit *European manufacturers* but they cannot be to the liking of consumers.

Besides, the agreement runs counter to a recent European Community decision to reduce from 17 to 14 per cent tariffs on imported semiconductors.

Even in the United States there are complaints from consumers, who have to bear the brunt of higher prices.

It is, moreover, extremely doubtful whether the effect of the agreement will be in keeping with US manufacturers' hopes.

Agreements of this kind can only ease pressure temporarily. If firms fail to adjust, to rationalise and to innovate there will be no change.

The need for structural change will merely be intensified — unless, that is, controls grow increasingly sophisticated and competition as a mainspring of progress is increasingly eliminated.

Gatt provisions are intended to eliminate tariff barriers and trade restraint and prevent the imposition of a system of controls on world trade.

It remains to be seen whether the price agreement between America and Japan will have the same effect as export self-restraint undertakings, that of ending the inundation of free markets with Japanese exports.

Restrictions on Japanese car exports to the United States and several European countries have resulted in exporters concentrating on the German market and increasing their share of car sales.

This competition has made German carmakers work even harder, but artificial redirection of trade flows remains a trade policy blemish.

The chief beneficiary of such arrangements is always the strongest partner in the market, even though the terms might at first glance seem to be to his disadvantage.

Higher prices boost Japanese manufacturers' profits most, with the result that they earn the extra money they need to finance further expansion.

In the long run more and more measures are needed by way of intervention.

Yet the United States is urging Japan in particular to come to terms in individual markets. The Japanese are playing ball, and not just so as to steer clear of criticism.

The European Community is also worried about the possibility of US restrictions on machine tool imports. Arguments of safety and the need to maintain domestic production are being put forward now that US manufacturers are no longer able to hold their own in certain sectors.

The semiconductor agreement is particularly poignant in that Tokyo used to argue, in connection with the low level of Japanese imports of finished goods, that it was both unable and unwilling *to* intervene in trade.

Yet export price controls are now envisaged, and that is a *tall order* despite the prompt rejoinder that Europe's Common Agricultural Policy is not exactly blameless in this respect.

Negotiations on a reform of world trade are due to begin in Geneva on 27 October with a session of the trade talks committee Gatt member-countries agreed to set up at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in mid-September.

Purists may say that the semiconductor lapse occurred only shortly beforehand and need not contradict the general agreement to dispense with protectionist measures.

That might even be true, but the prevailing atmosphere is what counts, and it simply isn't right.

Hans-Jürgen Mahnke

(Die Welt, Bonn, 10 October 1986)

Continued from page 3

concentrate its election campaign on "its" main issues: social and tax injustice and the fight against unemployment.

These are the topics which it believes almost helped it win the state elections in Lower Saxony in June.

The government in Bonn is definitely most vulnerable on these issues.

It remains to be seen, however, whether the electorate feels that social injustices are so great and mass unemployment so serious that the election should be decided on these issues.

It also remains to be seen to what extent a direct confrontation between the personalities of the candidates for chancellorship will prove *beneficial* to the SPD. Johannes Rau is still a more popular political figure than Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

What is more, it seems even more doubtful following the Bavarian elections, with its poor SPD performance and gains for the Greens, whether the SPD will be able to gain the support of voters from the political centre to the fringe areas of the Greens spectrum.

Only limited inferences can be made from the results of state elections with regard to the chances of political parties during a general election.

This is particularly true in view of the specifically Bavarian election situation.

The city-state elections in Hamburg in November may already bring about a much more favourable result for the SPD.

Claus Wettermann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 17 October 1986)

FINANCE

Bank which gives money away to some and lends cheaply to others

Albert Fink's office has absolutely nothing in common with the usual idea of a bank manager's elegant refuge.

It is rather cramped and humble for the chief representative of a financial institution and bears more resemblance to a children's room in a state-subsidised flat.

A trailing plant hangs down from the ceiling and dangles alongside his pinewood desk. The walls are covered with purple-painted woodchip paper.

Even his bookshelf shows that the 52-year-old banker is no supporter of the ideals of his pinstriped banking business colleagues in their glacial palaces in Frankfurt, Düsseldorf or Munich.

A seven-volume "standard" Management Encyclopaedia is framed by works of a completely different philosophical hue with titles such as *Die Rückkehr zum menschlichen Maß* (The Return to the Human Dimension) or *Ökologie und Freiheit* (Ecology and Freedom).

Albert Fink, a trained industrial clerk, is a member of the board of directors of what must be the most unusual bank in the Federal Republic of Germany, the GLS Gemeinschaftsbank e.G. in Bochum.

The abbreviation GLS stands for *Gemeinschaftsbank für Leihen und Schenken* (Cooperative Bank for Loans and Gifts). A bank which gives money away?

This is no advertising gimmick but a serious goal.

The GLS bank is the key financial institution of the anthroposophic movement in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The movement seeks to establish new forms of "associative business management" geared to human fulfilment and a search for meaning in life in line with the teachings of the movement's founder, Rudolf Steiner.

This includes a "technique of brotherliness" in dealings with money.

Rudolf Steiner's answer to the capitalist creed immortalised in the lyrics "Money makes the world go around" was his "primary social law".

The anthrophosophic movement of the man who died in 1925 in Dornach near Basle became famous via the Free Waldorf schools and nurseries.

The movement's overriding social law runs as follows: "The well-being of a community of people who work together is all the greater the less each individual lays claim to the fruits of his labour, i.e. the more of these fruits he gives to his fellow workers and the more his own needs are satisfied by the fruits of the labour of others and not by his own."

Translated into the reality of the alternative banking business of the 1980s this guiding motto reads as follows in the annual report of the GLS bank: "To replace a banking business based on material assets by one based on human trust; to give a human dimension to every loan and every gift; to replace abstract financial transactions by concrete and collective business management."

A visit to the unobtrusive office building opposite the Bochum theatre gives an idea of what this means.

Apart from the small nameplate next to the glass door there is nothing to suggest that this is the head office of a bank.

No spacious banking hall with a bulletproof cashdesk, no foreign currency and securities departments with stressed stock exchange jobbers.

Nothing is further from the thoughts of the 16 people working in the GLS head office than the worship of Mammon.

In fact, there is not a single safe in the whole bank.

"We haven't got any money here," bank manager Fink admits to the rather dumbfounded visitors.

What is more, the bank does no advertising, even though one might expect that the suggestion in the bank's name that there is money for nothing would attract droves of people burdened by financial difficulties.

The bank, however, is far from being an obscure alternative "money shop".

As a non-profit-oriented cooperative bank with just under 6,000 members it is subject to the control of the Berlin-based Federal Banking Supervisory Office just like any other bank.

It is affiliated to the Guarantee Fund of the Volksbanken, subject to the annual accounting checks of the Auditing Association of Cooperative Banks and, as a member of the Westdeutsche Genossenschafts-Zentralbank, is solvent at all times.

Accounting is carried out using the latest technology and transactions effected with the help of video display screens linked with the central computer of the cooperative banks.

The bank's assets of DM82.7m also *represent a figure to be proud of;* the GLS bank's only branch office in Stuttgart accounts for a fifth of this figure.

The deposits of the roughly 6,000 accounts amount to DM76.5m.

"We may be regarded as the exotic bank among banks," manager Fink explained, "but we have proper business connections."

As an industrial clerk Fink had to apply to the Berlin supervisory office for

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special permission to do banking, whereas his four fellow board directors are professional bankers.

The supervisory board, however, which consists of eleven members, is not organised along such strictly professional lines. Even ordinary housewives also have a say.

Fink stresses that the main thing is that supervisory board members are "practically-minded" and able to introduce new ideas. They need not necessarily be experts.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the meetings of the bank's executive bodies are pretty easy-going affairs.

General meetings, for example, are often held to the accompaniment of background music.

The latest meeting in Witten began with a Bela Bartok composition with the intention of stimulating "ideas on social art" (Fink).

The highly imaginative financing models created by the GLS bank together with the Gemeinnützige Kredit-Garantiegenossenschaft (GKG) and the nonprofit trust agency since the GLS bank was set up in 1974 can definitely be called social art.

Not only do the GLS bank, the GKG and the trust agency work together in one building, they also have other close business and administrative links.

The initial nucleus of the anthroposophic bank was the lawyer's and tax consultant's office of Wilhelm Ernst Barkhoff and Gisela Reuther in Bochum.

New ideas were needed to finance the foundation of a Waldorf school in Bochum.

Alfred and Friederike Rexroth, who previously ran an iron and steel works in Lohr am Main, provided a substantial sum of several million D-marks as a financial basis for the setting up of a bank.

In Fink's words the GLS views itself as a "bank run by anthroposophists, but not just for anthroposophists."

As a rule, funds are made available for all projects which set out to overcome the artificial differentiation between labour, culture and social commitment and promote the idea of an autonomous and liberated individual.

These projects may range from new forms of business in industry, commerce or agriculture to initiatives in the field of research or art or the organisation of children's nurseries, schools, hospitals and other social institutions.

The new "technique of brotherliness" has blurred the dividing line between loans and gifts.

The trust agency, with its 185 affiliated nonprofit institutions, has specialised in *negotiating gift transactions* and has accumulated assets worth approx. DM69m.

The GLS bank helps people who apply for "gift funds".

Special types of contract have been drawn up for gifts without obligations, gifts with obligations and revocable gifts.

One woman, for example, gave the trust agency DM30,000 for investments in the field of bio-dynamic seed breeding.

If this woman or her daughter run into financial difficulties, however, this arrangement can be completely or partially cancelled within six months.

Another woman donated DM5,000 to a study fund of the trust agency so as to finance a scholarship at one of the anthroposophic educational institutions.

The bank's lendings fall back on savings account deposits, which have the usual market interest rates.

There are no giro accounts.

Last year, 20 per cent of GLS savers decided that did not want to be paid interest, and many others opted for a lower interest rate.

Since the bank in its turn only charges the cost price of transactions their interest charges are also extremely low.

In 1985 an interest rate of only 3.1 per cent was charged on loans, a mere fraction of the usual loan interest rates.

Direct loans are particularly popular, since in these cases there is no anonymity between the donor and the recipient of funds.

One man gave a personal loan of DM50,000 from his savings account to a school which wanted to build a new room for theatre and music performances, charging an interest rate of only two per cent on the loan.

In the case of charitable projects interest payments are often dropped altogether.

As the GLS bank normally only provides loans of up to DM200,000 many people often form lending syndicates whose members act as guarantors for each other.

The senior citizens' interest group *Graue Panther* (Grey Panthers) in Wuppertal, for example, needed DM300,000 to buy a building for a senior citizens' centre.

One-hundred individuals were granted a loan of DM3,000 by the bank and the problem was solved.

The loan and gift syndicates provide a particularly sophisticated financing model.

A Waldorf school, for example, wanted to build a gymnasium, but they needed DM100,000. One-hundred parents were willing to give this sum of money as a gift to the school during the next four years.

In order to raise the money immediately each party received a loan of DM1,000 from the GLS bank and gave this to the school.

The compulsory membership in the emergency fund of the cooperative banks, which provides a guarantee in cases of bankruptcy à la Herstatt, is a thorn in the flesh of the cooperative bankers.

Hindrance

The GLS banks regards this obligation as a curtailment of its freedom and is currently considering means of diversifying risks in order to be able to opt out of the fund with the approval of the Banking Supervisory Office.

As GLS manager Fink points out: *"The whole thing will depend on whether savers want to have their deposits safeguarded as in any other bank or whether they are willing to accept a certain risk."*

Just lending and providing gifts is not enough for the bank: it also sponsors new forms of living and working together.

Shares in bio-dynamic farms, for example, are offered via the trust agency.

The basic idea is that land is not a commodity and is not therefore heritable.

The shareholders join together in agricultural cooperatives and lease out the land to a farming family for as long as they live.

Members of the cooperatives are also allowed to work on the farms and, what is probably more important, to carry out educational and social youth projects there.

At present, 21 farms are being run on this basis in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Not all individuals or groups seeking sources of finance for allegedly alternative projects satisfy the strict qualification criteria of the GLS bank in Bochum.

Baghwan followers, monks from a Buddhist centre and a left-wing ecological group which wanted to buy Nicaraguan coffee were turned away.

Fink explains why: "Our orientation is towards the human being as an individual. Many of those who come to us and talk of a new human being in reality want to force human beings into a new system."

It is hardly surprising that the GLS bank is viewed mistrustfully by both right-wing and left-wing groups.

"Conservative groups think that we're Greens," says Fink, "and left-wing groups feel that we're too conventional."

Hans-Ulrich Jörges

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 October 1986)

■ BUSINESS

Retired businessmen pass on know-how to up-and-coming entrepreneurs

Retired businessmen have joined forces all over Germany since the late-1970s to advise young people and beginners free of charge on how best to set up in business.

Armin Albrecht is one of thousands who have jumped at the opportunity. Last year he opened a Munich city-centre gift shop specialising in nautical items from north Germany.

A wooden ship's figurehead nearly one metre tall is the eyecatching centrepiece of his shop on Isartorplatz in the heart of Munich. Other nauticalia on sale include bull's eyes, ships in bottles, nets and foghorns.

He felt sure his was a promising new idea in upcountry Bavaria but was keen to make sure of all the advice he could come by before setting up in business.

He had difficulty in finding suitable premises. He was keen to advertise effectively but inexpensively. His queries were answered, but by neither the banks nor the local authorities he consulted.

Crucial advice was given by a group of retired Munich businesspeople with the cumbersome name Senior Citizens Help Young Businessmen.

It and groups like it have sprung up nearly all over the Federal Republic (one notable exception, oddly enough, is Stuttgart), and in September a national association was set up in Bonn.

It represents groups in eight cities. Its spokesman and business manager is



Horst-Peter Oltmanns, who was previously associated with similar work by senior citizens in the developing world.

Asked what the movement's aims are, *he digs deep into history, explaining* that the Ancient Romans dedicated the last quarter of their lives to public service.

Retired experts in the Federal Republic are motivated mainly by social considerations. Their aim is to improve relations between pensioners and people in employment.

At a less exalted level their work has an economic aspect. They make available the know-how of a full working life to help beginners.

They hope to enable would-be entrepreneurs to avoid the pitfalls that beset beginners as they set out on the road to commercial success and set up in business on their own behalf.

Their services certainly fill a gap and cater for a need, says Family Affairs Minister Rita Süssmuth.

There is such a wide range of assistance, financial and other, on offer by the Federal and *Land* governments, local authorities, chambers of commerce and industry and trade associations of one kind or another that beginners may well be bewildered.

Indeed, it is hard to see what gaps may remain in the range of services provided to help beginners to set up in business. Oltmanns says retired people have the human touch:

"You can talk your ideas over with them and what they say makes sense — because they know from personal experience what they are talking about."

Psychological support is most important, agrees Rolf Hecker, business manager of a Cologne group. Many newcomers are reluctant to trouble professional consultants with queries they feel are elementary, as Sherlock Holmes used to say to Dr Watson.

They have no such qualms about asking older people, says journalist Fides Krause-Brewer, who is a keen supporter of the movement.

Senior citizens have one major advantage over professional or institutional advisers. They have the time to spare to deal at length with each case.

There is seldom only one consultation. Up to five is the rule, says Wilhelm Brüning of the Hanover group. And sometimes contacts extend over months or even years.

Know-how is available on virtually every problem in the book. The retired businessmen who help beginners as a hobby were bakers and bankers, marketing specialists and mechanical engineers.

They were all either self-employed or in senior management. So the beginners they advise stand to benefit from a further advantage. Senior citizens often still have both the know-how and the connections.

Theo Linden, a former master-craftsman in the production department at Nixdorf, the computer firm, dealt in great detail with the entrepreneurial ideas of an electrical engineer who asked for his advice.

He warned him not to be so keen on his new ideas as to lose sight of the market. He also used old contacts to enable him to buy the second-hand machinery he needed at a very reasonable price.

Small wonder the demand for experienced advice of this kind is brisk! There are no national statistics but figures supplied by individual groups are impressive.

In Munich over 600 people have been advised in three years. In Hamburg over 1,400 people have been helped since the beginning of 1984. The Hanover group reports over 1,900 cases.

It was set up in December 1981 and was the group that prompted most of the others to provide a similar service.

Beginners are not alone in valuing their services. The banks *are keen* too and occasionally lend support.

"When every other new firm fails to survive its first five years it is time the banks did something about it," says Bernd Wrobel of the Cologne savings bank.

The senior citizens' advisory service makes their work easier by advising on criteria the banks use as yardsticks for approving initial loans. That is why the

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■ SPACE RESEARCH

Bonn decides to take part in the French Hermès shuttle project

The Bonn government has decided to take part in the French Hermès space shuttle project. It is to contribute an initial 32 million marks, 30 per cent of the cost of the preparatory development stage.

Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber need have no fear of a shortage of would-be astronauts. More than 2,000 people, including over 20 per cent women, applied for the six vacancies advertised.

Little of the original programme has survived the Challenger catastrophe. Yet more and more countries are keen to go it alone in space research, and competition is growing tougher.

After last January's Challenger catastrophe, four abortive US rocket launchings and similar setbacks for the European Ariane launcher rocket, Western space research is suffering from a Sputnik syndrome.

Nothing seems to be really working in the West, while the Soviet Union goes from strength to strength with its space stations and is expected to launch a space shuttle of its own in a couple of years' time.

By 1988 the Western countries were planning to launch between 20 and 30 communications satellites.

By 1992 over 20 series of experiments were due to be carried out on board a US space shuttle in Spacelab, which was built in Europe by a German-led consortium.

But the three remaining US space shuttles will not now be airborne before the end of 1988 at the earliest and the Challenger replacement planned by President Reagan is unlikely to be available before 1992.

Nasa's hard-hit transport system has been ordered by the President to rule out commercial satellite launchings for the time being. The US space agency is to scrap between 15 and 18 Spacelab missions planned for the next five years.

Herr Riesenhuber has been assured that the second German-led Spacelab mission is to be given priority, but the D-2 mission, originally planned for 1988, is now unlikely to take place before 1992-95.

As for further missions in preparation for Euro-American cooperation in setting up a permanent manned US space station, they are now only mentioned in Bonn, if anywhere.

The Americans aim to start setting up the station in 1992 as planned, but the programme is to be spread over a longer period. Astronauts are not now expected to spend longer periods in space before the second half of the 1990s.

Herr Riesenhuber will have been particularly upset by the news that despite the DM1bn invested in Spacelab further experiments with new production techniques in zero gravity are now ruled out because flights have been scrapped.

That puts an end to any industrial incentive to take part in the Columbus programme.

So it is hardly surprising that Hermann Jordan, board chairman of the DFVLR Aerospace Research Establishment, says these consequences of the Challenger disaster show how essential it is for Europe to go it alone in manned space research.

The Hermès space shuttle proposed by France is designed to put astronauts into low-altitude orbit. It was now, he said, an essential feature of European — and German — space research.

Yet Hermès has posed increasingly serious problems for Herr Riesenhuber ever since the French first aired the idea over two years ago.

Cash is part of the problem. In January 1985 Herr Riesenhuber persuaded Finance Minister Stoltenberg to agree to spend DM5bn on two large-scale projects, Columbus and Ariane, provided there were no more major international ventures.

There must, he insisted, be no further commitments and no more costly projects for which the taxpayer was to foot the bill.

Hermès is expected to cost roughly DM6.6bn in all, not including the cost of ground stations and modifications to the Ariane 5 launcher rocket needed on security grounds.

Germany would have to foot 30 per cent of the bill, otherwise it could not expect sufficient say in the project to ensure orders were placed with German aerospace firms, such as the construction of one of the two space shuttles envisaged by the French.

The first contracts have already *been awarded — to French firms.*

Foreign policymakers such as Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher have long advocated German participation in the French project. Chancellor Kohl is also said to have given an undertaking to this effect to President Mitterrand.

But the Research Ministry official who prompted the Chancellor to give the President this undertaking was suspended by Herr Riesenhuber in June.

The Minister plans to submit thorough research findings to the Cabinet before deciding for or against Hermès.

The Franco-European space shuttle concept is based on 1960s technology. Hermès is to be launched in the nose of an Ariane rocket from Kourou in French Guiana.

What distinguishes Hermès, the messenger of the Gods, from American Apollo capsules is that Hermès is designed for reuse after a runway landing on returning from its mission.

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European aerospace technicians have since devised more advanced concepts. Britain, for instance, is canvassing for Hotol, a horizontal take-off and landing shuttle.

Germany has a project of its own, Sänger, which Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm and Erno engineers say is more feasible technically than the British proposal.

Sänger is named after German missile pioneer Eugen Sänger and based on an idea of his.

It is to be launched piggy-back on board an aircraft powered by atmospheric engines taking it to an altitude of about 30km.

A second-stage rocket motor will then take the German shuttle into outer space.

Both stages are designed to return and land on airport runways. Both would be manned and suitable for reuse.

So Herr Riesenhuber will have a variety of options to choose from for his Cabinet recommendations. But he must reconcile technical feasibility and foreign policy requirements and submit proposals on how to finance his re*commendations.*

Commitments already undertaken, including European collaboration on Ariane 5 and cooperation with the United States in the Columbus project, will cost roughly DM1.6bn a year until 1992.

On alliance grounds Bonn will not want to jeopardise cooperation with the United States even though the present review phase has unearthed more problems than it has opened up satisfactory prospects.

The United States has no intention of allowing the Europeans any real say in the project. US law is to apply to the orbital station, which would strictly limit technology transfer.

If Herr Riesenhuber stays true to his policy he will not submit to the Cabinet a detailed manned space research concept. He will prefer to be non-committal and opt for a further review.

He will probably first see what Hermès has to offer as an interim solution for the 1990s, then — perhaps simultaneously — check which of the European proposals for the 1990s Germany would do best to support.

But a preliminary decision is essential for the sake of German industrial interests, and the Minister will need to state his case to Esa, the European Space Agency, when it reviews the various proposals for the future of European manned space research later this month.

European hopes of better business for Ariane as a satellite launcher in the wake of the temporary US shutdown have proved largely wishful thinking.

After its own last launch bid failed Ariane, the European workhorse, is to resume launching next February, and even if all is then plain sailing it will be 1989 before all orders already booked can be handled.

By then, says Raymond Orye, Esa's head of planning, US private firms will have new rocket systems ready.

Martin Marietta has announced at the Farnborough air show that its first commercial launching of a Titan 3 is scheduled for spring 1989.

Even more competition seems likely in the 1990s, with a growing number of countries keen to muscle into the lucrative satellite launching business.

China has signed preliminary agreements with US firms to launch satellites on board its Long March rocket.

By the turn of the century China plans to take a space shuttle of its own into service.

Japan has successfully launched an H-1 rocket and hopes to have independent H-2 carrier systems of its own (independent of the United States, that is) by the 1990s.

India's PSLV polar space launch vehicle is planned to put independent terrestrial observation satellites weighing up to one tonne into polar orbit from 1989.

India also has plans for even larger rockets, while Brazil is working on a rocket of its own too.

Europe's decision to go ahead with Ariane and development a more powerful version, the Ariane 5, by the mid-1990s seems to be well in keeping with the general trend.

Ariane 5 is planned to put payloads of up to four and a half tonnes into stationary orbit. The loss of the US space shuttle has redirected international attention to unmanned rockets.

After successful space missions by German astronauts Ulf Merbold in 1984 and Reinhold Furrer and Ernst Messerschmid in 1985 Bonn seems to have committed itself lock, stock and barrel to setting up an independent manned space research capability.

A DM34m DFVLR space user centre has been opened at Porz, near Cologne, but there are no signs yet of keen interest and commitment on the part of German industry.

Despite financial incentives for home industry most of the 30 Spacelab experiment applications so far received have been from abroad, including Japan.

German industry seems to prefer to wait and see whether German astronauts stand any real chance of getting back into space.

Until then the taxpayer will have to foot the bill for Germany's space ventures.

Michael Birnbaum

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 2 October 1986)

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municipal savings bank is one of the institutional backers of the Cologne group. It provides DM100,000 a year in financial support, Herr Wrobel says.

The retired people provide their services free of charge — in Cologne and elsewhere. Most groups rely on donations to meet running costs. Beginners who ask for advice usually only pay actual expenses, and sometimes only a nominal fee of DM20 or DM40.

This professional advice free of charge is not to everyone's liking, needless to say.

"We need have no fear of competition," says Norbert Küster, business manager of a professional consultants' association in Bonn, "but we fail to see why advice should be given free of charge."

The retired people say they don't provide any real service, just general advice and assistance.

When specific difficulties arise they invariably refer clients to specialists such as lawyers, accountants and other professional consultants.

Besides, most beginners aren't in a position to employ management consultants because they can't afford to pay their fees.

But Herr Küster sees no clear borderline between amateur and professional advice and says further consultations between the two groups are indispensable.

Marie-Luise Hoffmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 October 1986)

■ BOOKS

Reflections on Hermann Hesse through collected letters

Hermann Hesse: Collected Letters, Fourth Volume, 1949-1962. Edited, in German, by Volker Michels in collaboration with Heiner Hesse and Ursula Michels and published by Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 530 pages, DM64.

Apart from his letters, the 79-year-old Hermann Hesse wrote in 1956, he didn't seem to be getting any work done. Yet he remains one of the most widely-read modern German novelists.

An "unbroken stream" of letters had arrived at his home in Montagnola, Switzerland, since he won the 1946 Nobel prize for literature.

Hesse felt obliged to answer all correspondence personally.

The 466 letters written between 1949 and 1962 and included in the fourth volume of his *Gesammelte Briefe* (Collected Letters) indicated when he penned a line of poetry or, even more infrequently, of poetic prose.

His narrative private prints or round robins are best included in the subject heading correspondence (in the wider sense of the term).

The publishers and editors have chosen not to give us his complete letters — numbering at least 15,000. The four volumes of Collected Letters comprise 1,762 letters covering a period of 67 years. A fifth and final volume is planned.

With few exceptions the 432 letters in the collection authorised by Hesse and enlarged in 1962 are not included to avoid repetition.

The lack of a full-scale editorial commentary makes it even more difficult to evaluate the selection, although footnotes by the editor, Volker Michels, show him to have a comprehensive knowledge of Hesse's work.

Volumes of letters with individual correspondents, featuring both letters and replies, convey a clearer idea of perspective.

So, in particular, does Michels' *Politik des Gewissens* (Politics of the Conscience), 1977.

The volume here reviewed includes a most satisfactory 43-page small-print appendix dealing with 25 letters. More would have been more than welcome.

As always, Michels' postscript is most gratifying, especially his contribution toward Hesse's biography.

The late Hesse remained true to himself as a "politically unpolitical" person.

Whenever an attempt was made to commit him to a view or teaching he withdrew to his art, saying it was he who had to live with his contradictions.

Literature and the quest for word and truth, he noted in 1950, could assume the proportion of an illusion.

Yet Hesse was strongly critical of the arms trade and warned, as he had done in the First World War, against the hysteria of the Cold War.

The whole world, he wrote, must become the home of mankind. In comparison with dogmatism of all kinds reason was, he felt, "one of the noblest gifts of God."

He interceded on Erika Mann's behalf when she sought in vain to have a memorable protest against the post-war witch hunt published. Extracts from the article are here printed for the first time.

But the picture, clouds over. Letters reflecting a momentary mood or aimed specifically at the recipient do not always attain the maturity of an essay.

I should like to correct one error here, if only because a commentary is only available elsewhere.

Hesse's bibliographer Martin Pfeifer, one of his correspondents, impressively noted in 1977 in the first volume of *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung* (Hermann Hesse's Worldwide Effect) he edited for Suhrkamp how well Hesse had been received in East Germany in the early post-war period.

As early as in 1947 Wolfgang Joho, a member of the "old guard" of Communists persecuted by the Nazis, drew up a "general line" taking a positive view of Hesse as a bourgeois writer.

A wide range of Press mentions that can still be verified show how much sympathy he enjoyed in the East as a person and as a poet.

He came in for fundamental criticism but it was never as abusive as the recriminations levelled at him on our side of the ideological border. There were also hymns of praise that sounded a fairly conservative note and were not particularly profound.

But Hesse paid no attention to them. Whenever the subject was mentioned he sounded a note of disgust.

Without checking to see whether he was right he claimed that his entire oeuvre was either rejected as bourgeois romanticism or made fun of by literary critics and academic scholars in the East.

He made this claim in a 1951 letter to the Swiss political department, which had shown interest in him because an article of his entitled *Kriegsangst* (Fear of War) had got him into trouble in Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany.

When the GDR Press rang the praises of his commitment to peace he was worried he might be made out to be a Stalinist sympathiser.

In retrospect this fear may seem absurd, but in those days it was far from



unwarranted. Hesse was certainly in the crossfire of suspicion.

His work was late to be published in the GDR, where it was, moreover, initially published without permission. But the delay was due to the East's shortage of foreign exchange.

He was well aware this was the reason yet was not always objective in his comments on the subject.

He felt the entire atmosphere in the Federal Republic to be suspect too and took a dim view of official awards in any case.

So he was only being consistent in expressing even more energetic disapproval of offers from the East, although he failed to sound the right note.

He held GDR novelist Anna Seghers in great esteem yet when she wrote to him in detail in one such connection he did not even see fit to write as much as a line in reply.

Committed though Hesse often was, he here shows unmistakable signs of the resignation of old age.



Hermann Hesse . . . not always objective. (Photo: Archives)

When his friend Thomas Mann planned to launch an appeal to the conscience of the world he feared the impotence of the intellectuals would become even more clearly apparent and what they say would stand for even less.

He refused to sign manifestos or petitions or to support demonstrations. Yet in the context of protest against nuclear tests he referred, in a letter to an Indian publisher, to Albert Schweitzer as his political friend. One wonders why.

He came to adopt an elitist attitude and was enthusiastic about social critics Gottfried Benn and Ernst Jünger, writers he had earlier viewed with detachment.

He no longer attached importance to the individual or to mankind, but merely to man "as a possibility, as a path to the spirit."

Variety

A small minority was what counted. "Let us leave the world as it is."

References of this kind fail to do justice to Hesse's Steppenwolf-like variety. Even in his late letters he deals with himself in variations and details that go beyond the bounds of a short review of this kind.

He was, for instance, opposed to clerical misgivings about his later poem *Jesus und die Armen* (Jesus and the Poor), saying his love and sympathy had always been with the poor and oppressed.

In his holiday resort, Sils Maria, he lamented that hotel guests living in the lap of luxury had no idea of how much they were to blame for the harsh reality they chose not to see.

Mention must be made of the many gifts of cash and kind he made to help the hungry, the needy, students.

He is critical about psychoanalysis, about German philosophy, about modernist trends in the arts.

We learn much about Far Eastern wisdom, which is a wide-range topic with Hesse. He sounds a worried note about the progressive destruction of the environment.

He calls his youth to mind and the pictures of nature he paints call to mind the finest of his writings.

What struck me most was what Hesse wrote to a teacher about the origins of his early story *Der Wolf*. Imagination and empathy, he wrote, were nothing but "forms of love."

That makes one set aside many lines of thought when reflecting on Hermann Hesse.

Helmut Gumtau

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 12 October 1986)

A trendy turn towards the irrational

Peter Handke: Die Wiederholung (The Repetition), Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1986, 334 pages, DM34.

Peter Handke is undeniably a sensitive writer. He is quicker than others to sense changes of mood and movement in society.

He lets himself be carried away by them inwardly and invariably arrives at attitudes new and attuned to the times.

Yet even he can make mistakes. Handke's powers of rational self-control seem weaker by far than his sensitivity.

That was readily apparent in the late-1970s when he noticed how strong dissatisfaction with industrial society had grown.

Many people who were dissatisfied with a life governed by functional order longed, he felt, for harmony between ego and environment.

He took this longing into account in his books, painting pictures of peace and harmony.

He prefigured something that was to



Peter Handke . . . quick to sense mood change. (Photo: Isolde Ohlbaum)

take an increasing hold of the imagination of West German society in the 1980s: the nature cult.

But what he wrote was no longer convincing, so completely did he rely on yearnings and fantasies in his work.

Instead of merely lending expression to them, he tried to fashion them into a world view.

He would doubtless like to become what he feels Cézanne to have been: a "mentor of mankind." This ambition is the hallmark of Handke's style, which aspires to the impression of classical validity but usually sounds bombastic.

His latest novel, entitled *Die Wiederholung* (The Repetition) fails to herald any change in style or approach.

We are again shown how someone turns to nature and finds security in going back to nature. And, again, it is less a tale than a message.

The first part of the novel is best. Filip Kobal, the first-person narrator, tells the tale of a journey he made in 1960 on leaving school.

It took him from his home village in Carinthia, Austria, to Slovenia in neighbouring Yugoslavia.

In Jesenice, the first city of any size

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■ THE CINEMA

Large doses of catastrophe where the apocalyptic meets the apoplectic

Three films, three different casts of mind and three worlds that collide with one another are the high points of this year's Mannheim Film Week.

Chantal Akermann's *Jeanne Dielmann* deals with Edna Cormick who, after twenty years of compliant married life, suddenly stabs her unfaithful husband to death.

Sara Driver's *Sleepwalker* tells of Nicole, whilst working at night on a Chinese translation in a gloomy New York suburb experiences infernal nightmares.

A Chinese girl dies, Nicole's girlfriend loses her hair, the small son is kidnapped then they return to normal by the Hudson River at night.

Konstantin Lopushansky's *Briefe eines Toten* (A dead man's letters) deals with a small group of people who have hidden themselves between books and dusty works of art in a deep museum cellar.

The outside world is in ruins and ashes. An nuclear explosion has destroyed all life. There is no way of telling how great the chances of survival are for those who have lived through this.

The last words of a scientist who sends off into an uncertain future a band of surviving orphans, are: "Go, for as long as mankind is on the move, people can hope."

Chantal Akermann's *Jeanne Dielmann* is reminiscent of the first film by the Canadian Leon Marr, *Tanz im Dunkel*, (Dance in the dark) that also dealt with a housewife whose life was cheerful but monotonous.

Akermann's film is similar in style and content, but highly individual and basically different. Leon Marr's film, however, shows a sudden deathly sense of emptiness, a moment of astonishment and pain that ends in catastophe.

Sara Driver's *Sleepwalker* would never have made it to Mannheim without the help of her friend cameraman Jim Jarmusch, who shot this film in fascinating colour frames.

It is short and impressively poetic. It is very personal and restricted in form, harking back to classical drama. The poetry and dramatic content, the music by Phil Klein and the frames that hover between the opalescence of fairy-tales and the sallowness of nightmares are all controlled.

The thematic and aesthetic high point of the Mannheim Film Week was screened on the second day: Konstantin Lopushansky's first, *Briefe eines Toten*. The film was of startling relevance to the present and brilliant in form.

It was given the major prize from the city of Mannheim and the film critics' award.

Lopushansky, 39, a musicologist and art historian, came late to the film. He was educated in Leningrad and Moscow, and was assistant to Andrei Tarkovski.

If *Briefe eines Toten*, looked at as an apocalyptic tale, is compared with Tarkovski's *Opfer* (Victims) Lopushansky's Apocalypse is not mysteriously explained but extended in all its frightfulness.

The film shows the horror of bu-

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reaucracy when it comes to allocating the orphans the right to a place in the individual bunkers. The orphans as human beings without parents have just as few rights as the old people.

Religious, moral and philosophic questions are asked and discussed here. The form of the film is involved. The tale is not narrated chronologically but by associations, yet it is not confused and cryptic. Among the other first films worth seeing was the Welsh production by Karl Francis, *Boy Soldier*, dealing with the brutal training methods employed in the British Army.

The Swiss contribution to Mannheim by Ueli Mamin, *Die schwarze Perle* (The black pearl) was full of imagination and well acted.

Then Scott Murray's Australian version of Raymond Radiguet's novel *Teufel im Leib* was much more satisfactory with its clear dramatic line and the convincing performance of the main actors than Marco Belloccio's mannered, exaggerated version of the same novel.

The Film Week, the 35th, was involved with the cinema, advertising the cinema, gaining new film fans and winning back those who had defected.

Its administrators and the city itself did much to stimulate interest in it.

At the main railway station passengers were greeted with an annoucement that they had arrived in the city where an international film festival was to take place.

The curious were attracted by posters, leaflets and a central information tent with daily, free previews of the films.

Every effort was made to draw attention to the Film Week and the cinema.

The Film Week programme in Mannheim's Capitol cinema, one of the most elegant in the country, opened with Robert Vernay's 1953 version of *The Count of Monte Christo* with Jean Marais in the title role. This film from the East German archives had been reworked.

There was considerable interest in film classics and international films that had been very successful. This all added up to a five per cent increase in the number of visitors to the Film Week over the previous year, and attendance in 1985 showed an enormous increase in interest.

Mannheim Film Week has a long tradition of showing documentaries. This year there were many films of the genre with important themes, tackled seriously and in factual detail. But many of them were too long and too diffuse.

This was true of the American contribution from Maria Florio and Victoria Mudd, *Broken Rainbow*, dealing with the forced resettlement of Indians. It was awarded an Oscar last year.

The same criticism is true of Johan van der Kauken's ironic, clever study *I Love Dollars* dealing with the rich and the poor in four major cities of the world, Amsterdam, Geneva, New York and Hong Kong.

Peter Heller's documentary film about a 90-year-old man from Alsace, *Der Schmerz läßt die Hühner gackern und die Menschen dichten* (Pain makes the hens cackle and men reflect), was curious, short and funny.

Heiko R. Blum

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 13 October 1986)

Dancing-on-eggs formula had something for everyone

Hamburg's 13th Film Festival set itself the difficult task of providing both popular and more sophisticated films.

The organisers, the association of West German programme cinema operators, spelled out their aim clearly in the catalogue. (Programme cinemas are cinemas that publish monthly lists, or programmes, of the films they propose screening.)

Werner Grassmann, chairman of the association and director of Hamburg's Abaton Cinema, admitted that he was dancing on eggs trying to be popular and yet serve the discriminating filmgoer.

The task involved finding sophisticated films for the cinéaste as well as the films that are the bread-and-butter of a programme cinema.

The tight-rope walk between high ambition and economic necessity was clearly shown on the opening night of the festival, which included 30 films from nine countries.

The first film to be screened was a first showing of *Du mich auch* by Anja Franke and Dani Levy who acted in it.

The film tells the Romeo and Juliet story, a young pair who in the daily run of their lives have fun and enjoy sex. They then decide to part but that is easier said than done.

Their solution for dealing with their relationship, that has gone a little stale, is hampered not only by the traditional anxiety at parting, but also by a murder to which they are unwittingly witnesses.

They wander bewildered through Berlin at night, hunted by mysterious



gangsters, but eventually they re-discover their old passion for one another.

In this short, tricky comedy about the transitoriness of feelings Anja Franke and Dani Levy contributed to the success of the Film Festival.

In discussions after the screening they described the production difficulties young directors have to battle with in this country.

There has been a slow-down of funds for films since 1981. It is not surprising then that the two talented newcomers have said they have no interest in working in the cinema any longer.

The two other films shown for the first time at the Festival were made under happier conditions. *Sieben Sünder - sieben Frauen* (Seven sinners — seven women) was made by seven well-known German and foreign women film directors for the Second Television Channel.

It was a long-winded series of episodes about the Seven Deadly Sins.

Ulrike Ottinger's ambiguous tale about pride in this film and the elegant short crime episode from Bette Gordon of America on greed were two exciting variations on the venality of virtue.

The other film was Orlando Lübbert's *Die Kolonie*, a political thriller made with funds provided by Hamburg's film promotion unit.

Lübbert's film only reinforced the old argument that sound financial backing for a film did not guarantee quality.

Die Kolonie deals with insurance broker Brunner's search for his daughter who has disappeared into the hands of a fascist South American sect.

In the film Lübbert, who comes from Chile, dealt with the obvious.

People have known for a long time that the military juntas of South America are no laughing matter and that most people value their personal freedom.

At no point in the film is any idea given of the realities of the South American military dictators' torture chambers.

Masahiro Shinoda's samurai film *Gonza, the Lancer* was in sharp contrast to Lübbert's superficial production.

Shinoda also deals with power and violence, but he is not superficial. He tries to say something profound about the relationship between the two.

Gonza, the respected samurai, does not fight for land and castles. In times of peace he can achieve neither honour nor power through arms so he turns to the tea ceremony.

But he has to study the secret scrolls of his master. Although Gonza is already betrothed he agrees to marry his master's daughter to get at the scrolls. This makes the former powerful samurai liable to blackmail.

Director Shinoda begins by following the old rules, unfolding the plot almost like a detective before he deals in a very stylised way with the theme of honour and power.

The adulterous Gonza and the wife of his master eventually die in an act of barbaric violence.

Levy's love story successfully opened the Festival and a love story from America ended it.

Mala Noche, was filmed by Gus van Sant in Portland, Oregon. It tells the story of Walter, a young shopkeep, who conceives a passion for two Mexican vagrants, Johnny and Pepper.

They have no job and no money. By accident they meet Walter who gives them money and tries to find them work.

But the Mexicans continue to regard Walter as just a homosexual, a faggot, a gay.

Then the story trails off to an ending. Walter goes back to work, Johnny is again on the streets. Only Pepper is no longer there. He is shot by the police in one of Portland's shabby streets.

Gus van Sant tells his story by expressive contrasts and some tough cutting. This sad love story is the most unusual and emotionally hard-hitting contribution to the Festival.

But this year there were no hits such as *Diva* or *Männer*.

Jürgen Mahrt

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 October 1986)

■ HOMO SAPIENS

Why a species endowed with the asset of reason causes so much chaos

Man is a creature blessed with common sense, ethologist Bernhard Hassenstein told the Hamburg congress on behavioural science. Yet sweet reason is hardly the hallmark of the traces he has left in the world.

Oppression, murder, terror and war are keynotes of human activity. What are the human motives that run riot against reason and humanity?

Outlining the latest research findings to fellow-ethologists in Hamburg, Hassenstein said fear was one trigger that put paid to common sense.

Fear as a mainspring of human activity originally had a beneficial effect, prompting man and animal to run away from their enemies, to seek refuge in sheltered places and to steer clear of places, situations and activities that had proved dangerous.

Fear in its most concentrated form, panic, puts paid to reasoned thought of any kind, mobilising every last ounce of physical strength and endurance instead.

In its natural habitat an antelope on the run will thunder through thickets of thorns. In a zoo it will hurtle mindlessly into the fence, breaking its neck.

A herd of mountain goats will plunge head over heels into a ravine. Panic-stricken people will jump to their deaths from hotel windows when the building is on fire.

In nature fear and panic trigger reactions that are usually life-savers and seldom killers. In unnatural conditions they are almost invariably self-destructive.

Stopping to think could often prove a life-saver in such circumstances, but fear inhibits and panic incapacitates the ability to do so.

Some years ago Nobel laureate Haldan Keffer Hartline discovered a behavioural principle that helps to account for this undeniable tendency.

The Hartline principle is that when two irreconcilable motives clash; the stronger usually prevails, sidelining the weaker of the two.

When fear and reason clash, reason stands down, sad to say, as Hassenstein explained.

"When reason took shape in man's biological make-up," he said, "the productive part of intelligence, the intellectual variation and search mechanism, seems to have borrowed its function from the play impulse.

"Unfortunately, the play instinct comes low on the Hartline scale, especially in comparison with fear, and this disadvantage was retained." In other words, fear makes people stupid.

This behavioural mechanism also applies to the play of thought. Why, for instance, are people blind to common sense in times of crisis? Because of the learning principle of experience-related inhibition.

If, for instance, a train of thought is followed by a sense of fear or feeling of anxiety, as triggered by shock, a reprimand, fear of going out on a limb from public opinion or of being put to disadvantage, inhibition is the result.

As soon as the thought recurs it triggers fresh fear and is suppressed.

Must man come to terms with this fear-related thought inhibition or is there a solution to the dilemma?

Twenty years ago ethology committed a cardinal sin that sidelined it socially, as it were. It stated that biological behaviour was not, in principle, liable to influence by learning or intelligence.

Hassenstein said these ethological teething troubles were over and explained why he and other ethologists no longer felt instinct overruled intelligence:

"Man's ability to go on hunger strike in pursuit of political or humanitarian aims shows that powerful motives from the intellectual sector can prevail over biological impulses such as hunger and self-preservation."

A panic situation can be contained intellectually. Divers, for instance, are taught to suppress panic when their breathing apparatus develops a defect.

The panic reaction is to rip off your breathing mask, which is tantamount to suicide. The only hope of rescue is to stop and think, to systematically review all possible sources of error and to remedy the defect.

So reason can prevail over rogue instincts that form part of human nature. Fear can be dislodged from its place at the behavioural control panel.

The same applied, Hassenstein said, to the humanitarian sector. He defines reason as common sense in relation to humanity.

One of its greatest adversaries is, as he sees it, the biological phenomenon of group hostility, an aggressive mass reaction that occurs when one group feels, rightly or wrongly, threatened by another.

Racial hatred and religious bigotry can be particularly inhuman, with uninhibited brutality toward the enemy, aggressive feeling that gathers momentum like an avalanche and uncritical solidarity with one's own group all characteristic of the phenomenon.

It can be studied in nature among a herd of baboons. When they join forces to fight an attacking leopard their hair stands on end and they feel elated with solidarity as young warrior apes lead suicidal counter-attacks.

In this situation this behaviour at least makes sense as being the most effective form of group defence.

In world affairs it is not only pointless but leads straight to the catastrophe of mass destruction. Yet the world is still governed, in East and West, in a manner inherited from the apes.

Is group hostility an innate human instinct or merely a reaction to real or imaginary outside influence? If it were the latter, common sense would stand a chance of handling an untamed heritage.

There have been times, Hassenstein told the Hamburg congress, when killing and bestial brutality motivated by group hostility have been taken to the extreme.

The Nazi period was a case in point. Yet at other times they have occurred seldom if at all for decades on end.

"That is one of many pointers indicating that there is, fortunately, no aggressive instinct that spontaneously erupts from time to time and needs to find an outlet," Hassenstein says.

"Group aggression would seem to be purely reactive in nature." So one way of counteracting it is by means of specifically human faculties such as speech.

People can be taught from an early age to develop a keen ear for the linguistic poison of building up hatred of foreigners, demagogic incitement to racial hatred and similar barbaric and pointless excesses.

Defamation as a mode of aggression, he argues, is so fatefully capable of triggering behavioural responses from the depths of human nature that it can never be justified.

Sad to say, allowing oneself to be swept along by the intoxication of fanatical masses is fun. It testifies to the animal element at work in man.

Yet that should be a warning to call on common sense to redress the balance before an unstoppable avalanche is set in motion.

Vitus Dröscher

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 October 1986)

Link between science and politics debated

Scientists feel underrepresented in the debate on the acceptance of the findings of modern research and their consequences, says distinguished chemist Jan Thesing.

Professor Thesing, president of the German Chemical Association, made this point at the 114th general meeting of the German Scientific and Medical Research Association in Munich.

Professor Reimar Lüst as chairman of the meeting, held in the Deutsches Museum, said the gathering's public debates had always concentrated on a special research topic.

He felt it was now time scientists paid more attention to issues posed by politics and public opinion.

Surprisingly, however, his remarks were followed by twin monologues and not by what might have been expected to be a dialogue.

The relationship between science and politics, research and public life, was dealt with by both speakers. Both advocated strict segregation.

The first speaker was sociologist and Free Democrat Ralf Dahrendorf, a scientist *and* a politician.

He objected both to making politics out to be a science and to making science out to hold a political responsibility.

Yet he realised, as he put it, that the strict distinction he wanted to see drawn between the interests, intentions and achievements of two such fundamentally different activities went against the grain, clashing with the spirit of the age.

He certainly sounded a provocative note in stating that scientists were not in any way privileged on political issues and enjoyed no special authority, not even when they decided to give certain aspects of research a wide berth so as not to be caught in a moral dilemma.

Professor Dahrendorf said he felt it was immaterial whether a few hundred scientists or a few hundred taxi drivers opposed SDI. He viewed with dismay any attempt to restrict access to new ideas.

Physicist Klaus Pinkau of Garching, near Munich, voiced similar views on scientific responsibility in his following speech.

The scientist's special responsibility, he said, was to unmask charlatans who might shake confidence in scientific research and to promote public confidence and foster understanding of the way science worked.

Science was a quest for the truth; it also sought to be useful. That was where it set foot in the political arena, Professor Pinkau said.

Public debate was, he felt, the only fitting platform on which to decide whether or not to use scientific findings or to discuss whether scientists could be to blame for putting their knowledge to use.

He felt it was wishful thinking for scientists to believe they could retain their innocence by refusing to put their knowledge to use.

He was convinced it was every scientist's duty to place his knowledge on offer "so that science can prove its usefulness." By the same token, doctors must put their knowledge to use or else be guilty of refusing to help the sick.

Science was applied whatever happened, regardless whether or not scientists wanted it to be put to use. Political decisions were reached on whether or not to make use of scientific findings.

Professor Dahrendorf felt there could not be a meaningful relationship between science and politics until science had put its house in order (and he saw it as being in disarray).

A meaningful relationship, also presupposed that political debate regained a level deserving of the name.

Science and politics must not be thoughtlessly intermingled; interrelated though they might be.

The state, for instance, underwrites scientific research (with no political strings whatever in the Federal Republic, he was happy to say), while scientific findings found their way into political processes.

Professor Dahrendorf was critical of what he called the "impenetrable fog of agreement" resulting from most German scientific research facilities being state-owned.

While stressing the limits between science and politics he felt there was an urgent need for "interpreters" conversant with both sides.

Tension between scientists on the one hand and politics and the general public on the other was due to speechlessness between them, Professor Pinkau said.

They could only hope to bridge this divide if scientists first learnt to communicate with each other on an interdisciplinary basis and then learnt how to foster public confidence and to outline scientific findings in generally understandable terms.

He called on the public to show greater understanding for the scientific approach, that of harnessing all available and new-found knowledge in support of a hypothesis, thereby either underpinning it, disproving it or improving it.

The public must learn to understand both the scientific method and the concept of scientific truth, which by definition could never be incontrovertible.

Professor Pinkau expected politicians to allow research sufficient leeway and to show genuine interest in using scientific truth as a basis for their own decisions.

Politicians, he said, must stop misusing scientists as "dray-horses of political prejudice."

Rosemarie Stein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 October 1986)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Warning about chemicals in ground water

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Clear signs of chemicals in ground and surface water posing a potential health hazard are reported by the Environmental Protection Agency, Berlin.

The EPA's warning is contained in a report dealing mainly with halogenised hydrocarbons.

Undesirable in drinking water, they cannot be completely eliminated when river water is processed by the water authorities for domestic consumption.

Nearly all major rivers and lakes in the Federal Republic of Germany are used partly as a source of drinking water.

Ground water faces the further threat of harmful substances seeping from old garbage tips long closed but still chemical time-bombs.

Health Office experts fear between 1,000 and 2,000 disused garbage tips may contain substances that could contaminate water resources.

The chemical industry would be virtually brought to a standstill if it were no longer to use hydrocarbons.

They include products ranging from oils and fats, both edible and industrial, to problematic insecticides such as DDT, which is banned in the Federal Republic.

The EPA report deals with 19 substances rated hazardous and particularly relevant to the debate on water quality.

They are, for the most part, widely-used industrial chemicals of which high counts have been measured in river and, at times, even tap water.

All except one are halogenised hydrocarbons: hydrocarbons that have formed a chemical compound with one of the halogens, such as fluorine or chlorine.

Little is known about how hazardous these substances are, especially the long-term hazard of relatively low doses.

So there is no agreement on uniform safety levels either. The US Environmental Protection Agency's ceilings are levels at which 95 per cent of fish and minute organisms in the water are unharmed.

The German EPA feels lower levels are advisable — levels at which there is no damage whatever to living organisms.

The international working party of Rhine catchment area water authorities would sooner see no toxic substances at all in water from which drinking water is taken.

The EPA report states that toxin levels in surface water are generally not high enough to do any harm.

But this only applies to substances of which the longer-term effects are known. And there are exceptions too.

Dichlormethane, for instance, is used as a corrosive, degreasing agent and detergent. Dichlormethane counts measured in the Rhine ranged from 5 to 171, in the Main from 25 to 600 micrograms per litre.

The Federal Health Office recommends a safety level of 25 micrograms per litre of drinking and ground water, including the count in respect of three other, related substances.

About 1,000 tonnes of chlorinated hydrocarbons a year flow into the North Sea via rivers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Surface water pollution is only part of the problem; ground water is also threatened.

The Health Office water, soil and atmospheric hygiene research unit says there are between 30,000 and 50,000 disused garbage tips in the Federal Republic.

Harmful substances may well be seeping from up to 2,000 of them into the water table, which supplies 70 per cent of German drinking water.

There were surprises in Berlin when an area was investigated for use in testing a new method of measuring the pollution level of seepage water.

There were five known garbage tips in the area, but probes revealed the existence of a further 14 that had been forgotten and the existence of three more is suspected.

A spring has yet to be found that feeds hydrocarbon impurities into the ground water, but water polluted by disused household garbage dumps was no longer fit for use as drinking water.

The European Community-recommended safety level for ammonium was found to be exceeded 52-fold and the recommended safety level for chemical oxygen requirement was exceeded 25-fold.

The oxygen requirement level is a

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Sewerage pigeons come home to roost with the rats

RHEINISCHE POST

Sewers can't be seen and shouldn't be heard. They aren't much talked about yet occasionally make their presence felt by unpleasant smells.

Sewerage systems in German cities are often over a century old, corroded, sludge-choked, war-ravaged, long in the tooth and too small to handle their workload.

Down below where the rats lurk in seamy seclusion the problems are immense. Experts say at least a quarter of the sewerage system is in need of renewal.

For decades local authorities have avoided tackling the problem, but billions now need investing in this essential underground aspect of urban renewal.

"We are now building fourth-generation sewerage works," says Dr Dietrich Stein of the Sewerage Technology Association in Bonn, "but the drains that pipe sewage to the works are still first-generation ones."

Age takes its toll. So do corrosive chemicals. Industrial and domestic chemicals corrode the pipes and mortar, not to mention 1930s and post-war concrete.

Bacteria lining the walls of sewerage pipes transform sulphur from the decomposing mass into sulphuric acid.

Drain leakage at Rhine-Main airport, Frankfurt, caused impurities near a sewage works. Effluent from a factory in Horb on the Neckar contaminated an artesian well with ethylene perchlorate.

Hundreds of similar news items could be listed, and officials at the Environmental Protection Agency in Berlin feel they are no more than the tip of an iceberg.

The next slogan after *Waldsterben* (the death of the forests), they say, will be *Grundwassersterben* (the death of ground water resources).

Urban sewerage systems were set up over a century ago for a per capita consumption of about five litres of water a day. They now have to handle up to 180 litres a head.

Experts long consoled themselves with the thought that rainwater would dilute the effluent. But recent research findings have shown the opposite to be true.

The first rainfall flushes a layer of highly toxic dust and dirt into the drains that has gather for dry days or weeks on roofs and roads.

It is a treacherous cocktail consisting of oil, soot, tar, tyre rubbings and heavy metals, with an admixture of cadmium, lead and carcinogenic benzpyrene.

Rainwater retention reservoirs need building, gigantic concrete tubs to hold back the first cloudburst and pipe it gradually to the sewage works for processing.

Retention reservoirs for Hamburg, population 1.6m, alone would cost DM1bn.

But piecemeal repairs are far from inexpensive.

Rolf Bielecki of the Hamburg public works department says repairs to main drains cost roughly DM3,000 per metre.

Assuming a quarter of the 250,000km German sewerage system to be in need of renewal, the repair bill would cost DM190bn, or over half the Federal budget.

Cardboard pipes

This sum doesn't even include the cost of repairs to domestic drains that link up with the municipal system.

They are suspected by the EPA to be the source of most leakage.

They total 600,000km and have never undergone routine checks.

Housing regulations have been so simplified that none at all apply to domestic drains any more.

"They could just as well install drains made of cardboard," says an EPA official. "They aren't checked in any case."

In Zürich the entire city-centre sewerage network has been demolished and relaid.

"We really must take more energetic action," says Hamburg's Bielecki.

"If need be we will simply have to increase the water rates."

But that is an unpopular move politicians would soonest wash their hands of.

Bernhard Borgeest

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 14 October 1986)

■ **FRONTIERS**

Shoes from all, from homo erectus to Boris Becker

Richard Fenchel doesn't look at people's faces. He looks at their feet — or rather, what they wear on their feet.

He is interested in all types of shoe, the elegant, the clumsy, the trendy, the sporty and the comfortable. He is a retired shoemaker, but not only that: he is also a recorder of the shoes of history.

He has what is believed to be the most comprehensive shoe museum in the world. In about 250 showcases, he displays miniatures (scale: one to three).

The retired master shoemaker from Butzbach, in Hesse, has followed in a family tradition. Since the 17th century,

Frankfurter Rundschau

seven generations of Fenchels have made and repaired shoes.

Richard showed a curiosity about shoes of the past from an early age. Fifty years ago, as a 22-year-old, he decided to show the world what sort of shoes used to be worn. So he started collecting. Now he has given over three rooms of his detached house to his collection of miniatures. The collection can only be seen by appointment.

The 50th anniversary of the birth of the idea also coincides with the 50th anniversary of his marriage: his first pair of miniatures were costume shoes especially for his girlfriend, Emily. They were married shortly afterwards, not entirely because of the shoes.

The museum has existed in its present form for 10 years, ever since he arrived in Butzbach from Münzenberg-Gambach, also in Hesse. His exhibits have been shown in the fashion centres of Europe, Paris, Berne, Basle, Helsinki.

The collection includes an amazing diversity: footwear from the early upright- walking man to the glistering, pop new-wave look of the 1980s from all continents. The work involved is painstaking.

There are rawhide shoes of early man; old Greek and Roman shoes; aristocratic shoes worn by the pharaohs; shoes from the Chinese dynasties; the shoes of Charlemagne, King of the Franks; the shaggy fur boots of czarinas; white gaiters of Frederick the Great;



Richard Fenchel . . . into his stride. (Photo: Weitkamp)

tennis shoes of Boris Becker and Lady Di; the hiking shoes of former Bonn President Karl Carstens; and the plimsolls worn by Joschka Fischer, the Green MP, when he was sworn into the Hesse coalition cabinet in 1984.

Fenchel makes sure he maintains good contact with the German shoe institute. He gets early information about trends for the coming season. This means that when new collections are delivered, his miniatures are already sitting in the showcase.

Perhaps he had the most diffioulty getting details of the boots worn by astronaut Neil Armstrong when he became the first man to land on the moon in 1969.

After several vain attempts to get information about the cumbersome footwear, he wrote direct to Houston.

Back came a bulging letter. It contained exact descriptions of the dimensions of the footwear and the materials used. At the bottom was the signature: Neil Armstrong.

Michael Emmrich

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 September 1986)

Au pair girls — not boys

The traditional au pair girl is now under challenge by the au pair boy. The challenge at the moment is a weak one because old habits die hard and people still prefer girls.

In the past 12 months, one agency reports that there were 4,000 male applications for au pair positions but only 80 families willing to take them.

One of the lucky one is Edmundo, a 23-year-old from Brazil. He was placed with a family through the agency in Munich. He looks after a nine-year-old girl and does all what is usually regarded as women's work in return for 300 marks a month plus food and keep.

Au pair girls both from Germany and foreign countries receive a small amount of money which gets around the work permit regulations. Foreign girls get the opportunity to get a residence permit for a year and learn the language.

The agency reports that over the past two years, there have been increasing numbers of male applicants. The first male applicant was an American, six years ago.

Ulla Pokutta, head of the agency, says she is surprised that most of the male applicants come from countries where males have a traditional macho image — Spain, Italy, Jugoslavia and South American countries.

The youths want to spend a year in Germany. But the order is tall. Germans, it seems, in this regard are just like the British, the French and the Americans — they prefer girls.

Christa von Bernuth

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 30 September 1986)

A machine that measures human emotions

An apparatus that measures feelings in people has been developed by a university lecturer, Wolfgang Vehrs, in conjunction with Bayreuth University's electronics department.

The machine was unveiled at the 35th congress of the German society for psychology in Heidelberg and put through its paces.

It is hoped that the machine will be used in basic psychological research, in applied psychology and study of the nervous system. It has cost 100,000 marks to develop over 13 years from 1973.

Electrodes fixed to fingers, ears, chest and stomach measure changes in pulse rates, breathing and how the skin is affected. Study subjects also take hold of the Vehr Stick, named after its inventor, which registers reactions in given situations.

At Heidelberg, for example, guinea pigs were tested for their reactions to the music of Wagner, played to them over headphones.

Vehrs said, for example, the apparatus could be used to investigate how people react to media influences. What effect posters have, video films, advertisements and the like.

In cultural psychology, it could reveal how people react to particular pieces of music, as in the case of Wagner at Heidelberg.

It also had a place in sexual research and in crime. The apparatus could double up as a lie detector.

A university spokesman said it was hoped that the congress would stimulate demand for the machine. Manufacture and use under licence could be arranged.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 September 1986)

Ground water

Continued from page 13

pointer to the extent of organic pollution. Both reports, the EPA and the Health Office findings, reach comparable conclusions. Both rule out any acute health hazard.

The substances monitored found their way into the body via water and food intake in traces below the recommended tolerance levels.

But the EPA feels long-term checks are important, being needed to ensure water quality.

A further factor is that some hydrocarbons are felt to cause cancer. In their case it would clearly be best if they were found not to occur at all in the environment.

Dieter Schwab

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 9 October 1986)

Continued from page 10

on the other side of the border, Handke has his hero recollect.

He recalls his life at high school in Klagenfurt, where he was always an outsider, events in the village, where he failed to gain acceptance, and life in the family, where one member paid scant attention to the individuality of the other.

The classical intonation with which Handke seeks to make his events sound an exemplary note is irksome at times but these recollections of childhood and youth are still striking. They have a bearing on reality.

We are shown the development of a man who has never experienced a sense of identity and security with his environment. Since childhood he clearly seems to have been afraid of other people's affection and to have withdrawn into his ego.

This narcissistic withdrawal into loneliness, he realises as he thinks it all over in the station waiting room in Jesenice, has something to do with his relationship with his mother.

She always treated him with loving but disparaging pity.

Not until the second part of the novel does Filip come to realise what life is — thanks to nature. He spends some time in a remote valley with a lake surgounded by mountains.

He spends his time walking round the valley and finally wonders: "Has truly being alive not always been being able to breathe with the flowing water, the swaying grass and the rising branch of a tree?"

Yet proximity to nature, although conjured with such high-flying words, is something the narrator fails to put across.

Instead of submerging himself into the objects he always just fleetingly outlines the contours of a landscape and promptly switches to convoluted observations.

He attaches much greater importance to the meaning he sees in nature than to nature itself.

He feels, for instance, that nature is far less restrictive on emotion than the artificial order of civilisation — or that turning to nature is waving goodbye to aggression and war preparedness.

These are all ideas outlined in earlier Handke essays. In his latest novel he rings the changes on them to excess.

Yet Handke's message is more than a mere interpretation of nature. In the final part of the novel he describes a social community that purportedly has hardly parted company with nature and its allegedly peaceful laws.

He locates this society on a lonely plateau overlooking the Gulf of Trieste where he has his hero live with an old woman with whom he feels, for the first time in his life, safe and secure.

She lets him be himself without asking, as his mother had done, what was to become of him.

In this remote area there is no creed of performance, success and progress. Instead life follows nature's cycle by means of constant repetition.

The descriptions of this life Handke gives us are pale and schematic. They too provide an occasion for observations. As a result Filip decides to be guided in his thinking by the principle on which plateau people base their lives.

Repetition, he decides, is the essence. Hes set himself the task of telling us what people constantly get up to, what is constantly repeated.

To use a formula taken from a Handke essay, Filip wants to help to "naturalise" "myth" in modern culture.

That, Handke feels, is how a writer can succeed in painting pictures of collective identification. So he seeks to help eliminate the alienation and isolation that are the hallmarks of modern industrial society.

That is an exaggerated ambition to which literature today can hardly do justice. Yet Handke deludes his readers (and doubtless himself) with bombastic verbiage such as: "Narration, music of participation, give us grace and consecration."

All in all, Handke's latest novel is not very appealing in its narrative because the narrative is overladen with interpretation.

This interpretation is, moreover, not an attempt to arrive at a rational realisation but a message expressed in pretentious terminology.

Yet his repudiation of realistic narration and his turn toward the irrational are very much in keeping with the times.

Joachim Campe

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 11 October 1986)

■ **HORIZONS**

Helping women get back to work after raising a family

The *Frankfurter Frauenbetriebe* was set up two years ago to help back into business women who had interrupted their careers to have families.

After years of being away from work many women find it almost impossible to find a job when the family has grown up.

The organisation also gives advice and assistance to divorced women who have no qualifications, women academics whose studies do not help much in job-seeking and women generally who have lost their employment because of rationalisation measures in the firm where they worked.

The aim of the organisation is to offer women in what might be a hopeless situation a way of making a livelihood through their own initiative.

An example of the help is the slimming studio, "La Linea," that Renate Wegner-Koch and Anita Auls have opened in Bad Bauheim.

The women's organisation provided Renate Wegner-Koch with the basic know-how so that she could become self-employed. She did an 18-month course arranged by *Frauenbetriebe*.

"When my five-year-old son was admitted to kindergarten I wanted to go back to work part-time," she said. She had trained as a doctor's assistant but she could not find such a job in Bad Nauheim nor in the surroundings.

Quite by chance she heard of *Frauenbetriebe* and decided to apply for the course.

Anita Auls, also with a family, had no luck in finding a job as a secretary.

Lu Haas and Gudrun Krieger who run *Frauenbetriebe* gained their experience at an adult education centre. They realised that there was no point in constantly telling unemployed women that they were in a sorry situation.

They decided to take a positive line and developed ideas and formulated a guide on the qualifications a women needs to go self-employed.

Frauenbetriebe provides information essential for a woman setting out to earn her livelihood self-employed and what being self-employed involves.

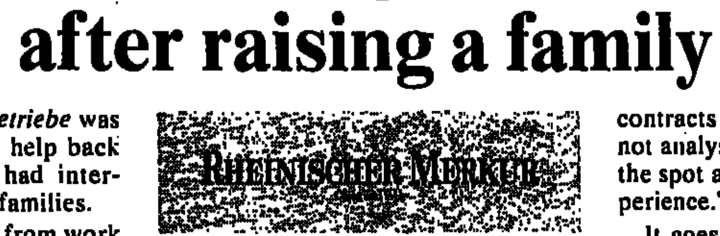
The project is backed by the Frankfurt society for social research and training for women. The course programme is financed by the Hesse Economic Affairs Ministry and the European Community.

The half-day training programme (20 hours per week as well as special course periods) is designed to meet women's abilities, interests and problems.

According to Lu Haas and Gudrun Krieger most participants think they cannot get through because for the past 15 years they have been looking after a family, but as mothers and housewives they have acquired experience that can be of use in their future working lives. About two-thirds of the women who apply for the course are mothers; the remainder are women academics. They vary in age between 25 and 54.

They have, of course, vastly differing educational qualifications, work experience and backgrounds.

Lu Haas said: "There are some who



completed secondary modern school education and at 14 went into a factory. Later they took the university entrance examination or some other kind of further education, but they still can't find a job."

In the motivation and orientation phase of the course the women are shown how to identify their interests and how to get rid of their anxieties about going self-employed.

The main section of the training course is devoted to business management such as legal matters, internal company organisation, the kinds of company that can be set up, competition, labour legislation, how payments are made, business accounting, tax and book-keeping, balancing the books, sales and profit.

Lu Haas again: "You soon end up among the bankrupts, like many a wool-shop, café and boutque, if you don't know anything about basic planning, have a solid knowledge of the business, have well-considered contracts and financing, if you have not analysed carefully the situation on the spot and gained some practical experience."

It goes without saying that *Frauenbetriebe* offers women the opportunity to try out theory in practice. The organisation has a small training operation, a café. Here the women have to do everything themselves, from planning, company organisation and calculations to book-keeping.

Apart from theoretical training the women are shown how to conduct buying and selling negotiations and how to make a company work.

In the last phases of the course the women are encouraged to develop their own business ideas and plans.

Every planning step, every calculation, has to be put to paper, whether it concerns raising capital or calaculating sales. These notes could be the basics for going to the bank for finance.

But before the women can open their own businesses there is still quite a lot to be done. Supply contracts have to be concluded, trade fairs visited, prices compared and trade literature consulted, and an eye has to be kept on the competition. Renate Wegner-Koch said: "I worked out my slimming studio on paper first. Then I looked about for an apartment, compared rents and very quickly found this place. It is just right and can be reached easily by public or private transport. I had to decide on the spot."

Renate Wegner-Koch, her friend and a chiropodist are the first of the course of 24 who are now earning a living on their own.

The others are in the preparatory stages for being self-employed.

Twelve women have got together and plan to start a large business centre with a textile plant, a stationery shop, a centre for mothers, a café, a bookshop and a goldsmith's all under one roof.

Once women on courses have gone out to make their own livelihoods *Frauenbetriebe* is still available for advice after the women have set out on their own. There are weekend seminars dealing with businesses, projects and associations for women.

The second course has now begun. There were many applications for admission to it.

Lu Haas believes that the qualifications guide is suitable for other groups of unemployed, for instance for young peole who are without a job, "but prepared to learn, take risks, take on the responsibilities of debts to be able to create their own jobs, instead of drawing unemployment benefit. They should be given official support."

Barbara Dreifert

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 3 October 1986)

Award shows that there's dough in baking

Marlis Blohm-Harry has been elected "Business Woman of the Year."

She is a clever, attractive woman of 53 who runs a business that produces 60 different kinds of bread. Last year her company had sales of DM143m.

The company is a family concern and one of the largest in the bakery business. Last year it baked 58.8 million kilograms of bread.

It has three factories in North Germany employing more than 1,000 and it exports to the US, Canada, Britain, Scandinavia, Belgium, Italy, France and Spain.

One of her fresh bread organisations supplies 5,000 grocery shops and supermarkets with fresh bread every day.

Marlis Blohm-Harry has made "Harry Brot" into a household name in West Germany.

She has been trained in baking. Before she took over the family business in 1957 she was apprenticed to a baker in Lehre.

At first she baked only bread rolls. By the end of the 1950s the company she headed had a turnover of DM10m.

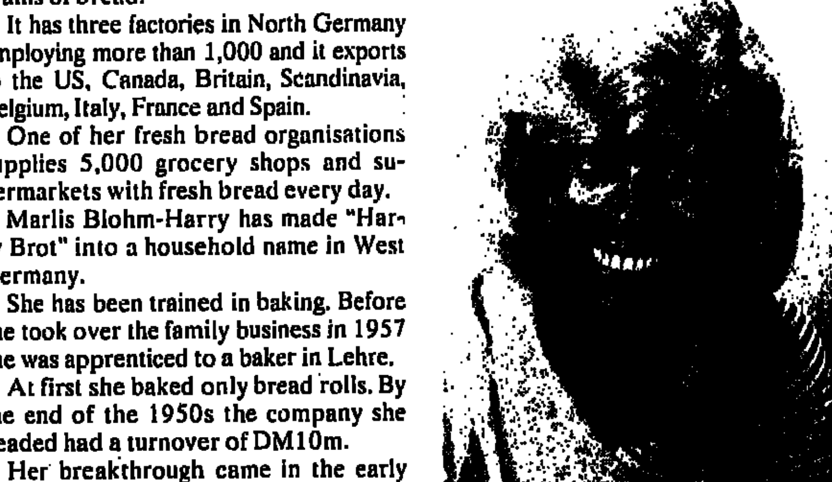
Her breakthrough came in the early 1970s when turnover was increased fivefold.

She puts great store on healthy kinds of bread; wholemeal bread, barley loaves, wholemeal toast bread, and unbaked wholemeal bread rolls that only have to be heated up.

She has made her way in the world by experiencing at first hand the drudgery of the bakery business. In her firm she is boss and colleague at the same time. She speaks the language of those who work in her company.

How did she come to be elected "Business Woman of the Year?" In this country the honour is handed out by a jury, assembled by the champagne house of Veuve Clicquot.

Peter J. Ziegler, managing partner in Veuve Clicquot Import GmbH of Wiesbaden said; "We want to show our respect for a woman who has made her way in business."




Marlis Blohm-Harry . . . wholemeal. (Photo: dpa)

The champagne house has a woman to thank for its international reputation. In 1805 Nicole Clicquot, widowed at 27, took over the management of her husband's champagne cellars.

Eventually she became one of the most famous champagne cellar owners of the time, when it was unhead of for a woman to be running a business. It is still rare to find women in senior positions in business. Women make up only two per cent of managers in this country.

Business abilities, a talent for management, a readiness to take risks and be creative are all regarded as male virtues. The "Business Woman of the Year" award shows that women can also have these gifts.

There are two women and nine men from top management positions in Germany on the jury. The women are Ute Dumitrescu, editor-in-chief of the women's magazine *Cosmopolitan* and chairman of the business women's association, and Dr Anne-Rose Iber-Schade.

Claus Hipp was spokesman for the jury. With the "Business Woman of the Year" award in mind he said; "It is obvious that these women are not interested in emancipation. They are not chosen because they are good-looking and charming. They are elected because of their naturalness as women when passing on problems to men because they known that men can come up with better solutions."

Claus Hipp said that all experience showed that women take care that "valuable capital assets are not wasted through personnel problems."

Marlis Blohm-Harry is self-confident enough to look at herself critically. She said: "If I make a mistake I am answerable for it myself."

Asked what was the secret of her success she said; "Have a general view, set targets, coordinate and know where your going."

She claims that she gets the strength to do her hectic, responsible job from "a harmonious family life."

On holidays she goes sailing. She knows all about the churches and the cuisines of the countries of the Mediterranean. She is very fond of music, particularly Bach.

She was given her "Business Woman of the Year" award in the Egyptology Museum in Munich.

In ancient Egypt women had the same legal rights as men. They were entitled to half of the property in marriage and they could take on employment outside the home, for instance as priestesses.

Women servants were responsible for baking the bread. Bakers in ancient Egypt were women. Marlis Blohm-Harry smiled when she learned this.

Ingeborg Toth

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 27 September 1986)